



VISCOUNT MORLEY AND  
INDIAN REFORM .



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AND  
INDIAN REFORM

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## PART I

### THE MAN AND THE MEASURE

“I had no arts but manly arts . . . and I ever held a scanty and penurious justice to partake of the nature of a wrong.”—  
BURKE.





## I.—LIFE OF LORD MORLEY

ON Christmas Eve, 1908, a deputation of one hundred Bengali gentlemen, headed by the Maharaja of Durbhanga, waited on his Excellency the Viceroy, to express their gratitude for the proposed reforms in Indian administration, and their sincere desire to give that support without which, as Lord Minto had announced, no scheme of reform would be satisfactory. When we consider that every shade of political opinion was represented, the deputation including Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, editor of the *Bengali*; Mr. Moti Lal Ghose, editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, and Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, we are not surprised that the Anglo-Indian papers should have noted it as a "new era in the relations between the educated classes and the Government."

The telegrams of congratulation sent home to the Secretary of State for India were very enthusiastic. The Bombay Presidency Association wired a "grateful acknowledgment of the noble and generous statesmanship inspiring your lordship's reform despatch." Motilal Nehru, President of the

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United Provinces Association, equally with the citizens of Chittur (North Arcot), forwarded hearty thanks for the announcement, and prayed for early legislation. The reception of the scheme by the Indian National Council at Madras was, on the whole, favourable: "The members of that body recognise that Lord Morley is bent upon doing more for progress and reform than any other Secretary of State has yet achieved," was the report of a warm advocate of these measures.

What, then, was the past life and record of Lord Morley that made him fit to inaugurate this new era, and to bring to a conclusion the measures upon which it was to rest secure? John Morley was born at Blackburn in Lancashire on December 24, 1838, and was the son of a surgeon. He belonged therefore to the great middle classes of English life, who, in those days, had more share and influence in directing the public affairs of their country, than they have now that the wide extension of the franchise has admitted the populace to a voice in the election of members of Parliament.

As a growing lad he witnessed more than one franchise bill before the country, and had his attention directed to the question of popular representation, and he grew up in an era of increasing political freedom as the country developed under the bene-

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ficent rule of Queen Victoria. When the time came for him to have his education continued in the atmosphere of a public school, as every English boy does, John Morley went to Cheltenham College. Here began his training for the serious business of life, for, in an English school, a boy learns, by obedience to authority, how to command in future years; he learns to co-operate with his fellows, to love justice and to honour the King. Thus under rule and strict discipline the boy remained till the time came for college life.

In due course John Morley passed from the public school to the University, and entered Lincoln College, Oxford. It is difficult to over-estimate the influence which the life at college has on the development of the young Englishman. Though still continuing his studies, he has more liberty and more responsibility than in his schoolboy days. He has left the society of the lads amongst whom he has grown up, and their simple pre-occupation with the interest of their "house" and school; he mixes with men from other parts, and hears more varied topics discussed. There are small worlds within the bigger one of the University. Some devote most of their energies to "sport," others keep to the objects which primarily bring them there, and think from the first of the "final schools" and the examinations connected with them; some, though

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still studying, are more interested in general subjects, or in literary pursuits—others give themselves up to theoretical speculation. Through it all runs a sub-current of training in politics, taking the word in its widest sense, so that no education is better than that of the University to make a man find his true place in the world in after years. This does not imply that he takes an active part in either legislation or administration, but it does mean that he has formed an opinion on the duties of citizenship, on the rights of the subject, and on the government of the country in which he lives. If he is actually called to take part in that government, he has knowledge, he has public spirit, and he has the general capability of the trained mind.

From remarks that he has inserted, quite by the way, in some of his literary work, we may gather a few of John Morley's more "permanent impressions, which he gained from his college life. It encouraged in him the spirit of the "thinker." The associations of these ancient Universities (for in this point Oxford and Cambridge are alike) became for him "a dream of music for the inward ear and of delight for the contemplative eye." There is first the outward environment of the venerable colleges, of noble architecture mellowed by time, and of the quaint, old-world gardens. Library and chapel alike invite to quiet reflection, and to a

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spirit of reverence. Moreover, the imagination can fill in the picture with the forms of long ago, the countless scholars, who have distinguished themselves in every possible way—the men who have made great names in literature or science, and have handed on the torch of truth.

Some men may come up to the University, go through all the prescribed course of study, and never feel this particular attraction; but for those who do receive an impression, it lasts all their life. It makes them chary of violently or suddenly overthrowing the old order, for they may be destroying, by a sudden act, that which it took centuries to build. It gives them a certain humility of mind; in face of the wisdom of the past, they cannot too readily say that all new ways are best, or that the present is always more right than all that went before. Some such perception as this remains in Lord Morley's mind, and prevents him from being hurried into extremes even when he is busy with necessary reforms. This impression of the dignity of learning and the claims of pure culture was further increased by the kind of study to which his mind was drawn. He speaks of three motives which might incline men to seek the higher education. There is the desire to qualify for a bread-winning profession; or to follow social and historical subjects so as to be trained for actual political life;

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or thirdly, the "desire for knowledge as a luxury to brighten life and kindle thought." This third was the way in which John Morley has always approached the subjects which engaged his thought. To him, the use of literature was to cultivate the moral sensibilities, and to keep alive the imaginative faculty. He admits that mere study of many books—even the best books that genius has put forth—will not make a good citizen, much less make a good man, and quotes Burke, that restraint and discipline and the force of good example are what form the education of the world. But he suggests that literature may be one of the powers that lead us to desire discipline, and to walk in paths of justice. Mind speaks to mind, and a fuller consciousness of what is best may be aroused by these interpreters of virtue. What John Morley read of pure literature in his college days always left a mark on his mind, but he was also strongly influenced by one man's works of a somewhat different class.

"In my Oxford days," he says, "the star of Newman had set, and the sun of Mill was high in the heavens." All the difference of two opposing schools lies between the names thus placed in juxtaposition. Mill stands for scientific investigation and material progress; but the calmness of his reason often lacks the quickening fire of en-

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thusiasm. His influence on John Morley's ripening mind gave it that cool judicial tone which is one of its characteristics. Lord Morley tells us, in an interesting autobiographical passage in one of his *Studies in Literature*, that Mill's *Logic* and *Utilitarianism* were everything to him, and that he stood to the older man in the relation of disciple rather than of critic.

But as time went on, experience of life and independent judgment led him to make "many important corrections and deductions in Mill's political and philosophical teaching." Certainly we find in Lord Morley, that the theories of the scholar are corrected by the knowledge of the man of affairs, and we notice, in following his administration of Indian affairs, how carefully he keeps to the practical, common-sense handling of a difficult problem; how he never pushes an abstract theory of government in advance of what the governed can bear, or drives a principle so far that it is indistinguishable from a prejudice.

The years of John Morley's early manhood were given up to literature, but literature of a type that was a preparation for the political work to which he has devoted his mature powers. Edmund Burke, that great writer and politician, who has done so much to form the minds of English statesmen, first engaged his attention. The study of Burke, critical



rather than biographical, shows us the direction of John Morley's thought, and is useful not only as an explanation of the politics of the eighteenth century, but also as an elucidation of the principles which guided the statesman of the twentieth in his government of India. He speaks of Burke's emotion in describing the devastation of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali, and says the hidden force which makes such pictures comes not by observation but from "the sedulous meditation of long years, directed by a powerful intellect and inspired by an interest in human well-being." Such meditation was also the distinguishing mark of John Morley. Moreover, he notes the great lesson of Warren Hastings' impeachment, "that Asiatics have rights and that Europeans have obligations; that a superior race is bound to observe the highest current morality of the time in all its dealings with the subject race." In studying Burke's efforts to obtain justice for our Indian dependency, Mr. Morley's attention was directed thus early in his career towards a country, with which he was afterwards to be so intimately connected. No doubt he already felt the glamour of that country—a land of princes, dignified and opulent; of priests, venerable and devoted; of a teeming people, in number as the sand of the sea. Every city and temple, every custom and caste, speaks of an age-long civilisation.

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ficial civilisation and his enthusiasm for a primitive—and very imaginary—social being, but he does not lay sufficient stress on the harmful side of their work.

Following out the idea of social organisation and the principles on which it should be based, John Morley sketched the opinions of Diderot and the Encyclopædists, and so arrived at that great catastrophe which their writings had helped to precipitate. He remarks that “an urgent social task lay before France and before Europe; it could not be postponed until the thinkers had worked out a scheme of philosophic completeness.” These words curiously apply to much of John Morley’s own political work; he wisely accomplishes as much as the state of the times will allow, instead of waiting for opportunities that may never come. At the same time we must not fall into the mistake of unfriendly critics who imagined that, when he tried to find some good points among the many evil ones, he approved of all that his characters did. John Morley objects to the inference that he “finds his models in the heroes of the French Revolution” and “looks for his methods to the Reign of Terror.”

His sympathetic study of men so different as Joseph de Maistre, Condorcet, and Turgot shows that Lord Morley was trying, even then, to find the true adjustment of government to the social necessities of the time, and that he was not guilty



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for Parliament. In 1883 he was returned as member for Newcastle-on-Tyne, and he retained his seat till Mr. Gladstone's defeat on the question of Home Rule. The tale of this effort to meet the Irish needs is well told in Mr. Morley's life of his great chief, which he was commissioned to write by Mr. Gladstone's own wish. Though he effaces himself as much as possible in this record of an exciting political period, yet from it we may glean a certain amount of information as to the part played by him on the political stage. We may see John Morley putting his principles into action, and we may see that the share he took in the management of Irish affairs as Chief Secretary was a good preparation for his subsequent post as Secretary of State for India. A study of this part of his career will have more than one interest for those who are anxious to know how he has dealt with our great Indian dependency — whether Lord Morley the statesman has fulfilled the fair promise of John Morley the philosopher.

The general election of 1885 marked a change in the conditions under which Home Rule for Ireland had hitherto been pressed by the Irish members. The party numbers had increased under an extended franchise, and their demand for a national Parliament became more insistent. Mr. Chamberlain, then a member of the Liberal party,



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to constitute, and finally some of them seceded. John Morley bore his share in all the negotiations between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell, the Irish leader, and was fully cognisant of the difficulties in coming to an arrangement. The question of the retention of Irishmen in the supreme Parliament was the crux of the measure. Mr. Morley's judgment on the fact that the English democracy seemed but little moved by this Home Rule proposal was as follows : "The plain people of this island, though quickly roused against even the shadow of concession when the power or the greatness of their country is openly assailed, seem at the same time ready to turn to moral claims of fair play, of conciliation, of pacific truce."

The Bill was introduced in the House of Commons in April 1886 ; after a debate, which has become historic, it was defeated on the second reading by a majority of 30, and the question of Irish autonomy was shelved for five and twenty years.

The defeat brought as its consequence the dissolution of Parliament, and after the election was over the Liberals were in a minority. Mr. Morley therefore was out of office till his party returned to power in 1892. In the interim we find him deep in the councils of his party. He took part in the famous "Round Table Conference," by which it was sought to reunite the Liberal party, which had been shattered by the Home Rule Bill. Mr.

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Chamberlain, by sharing in it, showed for a time his desire to reunite with the Liberal party. He was willing to concede some measure of local government for Ireland, such as a legislative authority in Dublin, preferably on the lines of the Canadian Constitution. To this he wished to join an executive power for Irish affairs, which was already a halfway meeting-place between two extreme schools. However, difficulties arose later, for the dissentient Liberals were already showing themselves restive of Mr. Gladstone's leadership on more than one head. The negotiations were abortive, and gradually the Liberal Unionists drifted away from their former party, and became at last one with the Conservatives, so that in the present day the term Unionist is employed to denote the whole party. Needless to say that John Morley emerged from the conference more firmly devoted to his chief, and more desirous than ever that the reasonable demands of the Irish for a local autonomy should be met. Mr. Parnell was anxious that the rejection of the Home Rule Bill should not be succeeded by riots and disturbances. Such manifestations would only stiffen the opposition of the Imperial Government. But in spite of his better judgment, the "Plan of Campaign" was launched that winter. This scheme had for its object the non-payment of rent, except on those

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terms which the agitators chose to dictate. Lord Morley characterises this as an "unlawful conspiracy," just as before the Act of 1875 "every trade combination of a like kind in this island was a conspiracy," and a period of coercion began.

Mr. Gladstone was still ready to fight the Irish battle on the political platform, and at the great meeting of Bingley Hall, Birmingham, in 1888, we find him faithfully supported by Mr. Morley, as on other occasions when he espoused the same cause. The breach between the Irish party and Mr. Gladstone came in November 1890, and was caused by the objection of the English Liberals to remain in alliance with Home Rulers as long as they were under the leadership of Mr. Parnell. The negotiations entered into at this period to persuade the Irish leader to abdicate, so that the cause, at least, should not be lost, were carried out by Mr. Morley. With the usual fate of peacemakers, he came in for a good deal of abuse, and was even accused by Mr. Parnell of having tried to seduce the Irish party into accepting places in a Liberal Government as the price of the betrayal of their country. This ridiculous accusation shows the very strained conditions of the alliance that had been made in 1886. Yet, in spite of dissensions, John Morley held firm to his ideas on Irish politics. Abuse and misunderstanding were not forces to drive him





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his country nearer to Home Rule than she has ever been before in the whole period of the agitation, and who lost the cause by his own insensate act.

After the General Election of 1892 the Liberals came in with a small majority, and John Morley occupied the post which was fitly his, after the part he had played in Irish affairs since 1886. He was made once more Chief Secretary for Ireland, and began to collaborate with the Prime Minister in the construction of a new Home Rule scheme. The great leader, though now 83 years old, put in an enormous amount of work, and took his full share in the deliberations of a committee of the Cabinet, which had the preparation of the Bill in hand. It is not necessary here to go into the details of this second attempt to settle the Irish difficulty; the insoluble difficulties, which surround either inclusion or exclusion of the Irish members in relation to the supreme Parliament again turned up. In those strenuous days the great leader wrote of John Morley: "He is on the whole the best stay I have." The third reading of the Bill was carried by a majority that only was obtained by Irish support. If the Home Rule party were subtracted, the result would have been a minority of 23. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that the House of Lords threw out the Bill. A measure of such importance, affecting deeply the relations of Britain

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with an important item in the Empire, could not be passed without the assured consent of the stronger member of the bond. Lord Morley in his life of Gladstone makes little comment on this fact, but he tells us that when the Peers began to alter or reject most of the work of the Commons, the Premier suggested dissolution to his colleagues, but he received by telegraph a hopelessly adverse reply. A dissolution upon this question of the "relation of the two Houses" was not taken in Mr. Gladstone's lifetime. It did not come till 1910, when John Morley was already in the Upper House, and the question was then mixed up with considerations of financial reform.

In 1894 Mr. Gladstone, under the pressure of increasing infirmity, resigned his office of Prime Minister, and with this ended his long connection with public life and the closing, in more than one sense, of the old order.

In May 1898 came the end of that long and eventful life. Mr. Morley in noble words describes the last honours paid to the great statesman. The pall was borne by the heir to the throne, now our gracious King-Emperor, followed by a train of representatives of foreign courts, and the retinue of his colleagues, "those who had done stout battle against him for long years; those also who had sat with him in council, and stood by his side in frowning hours."

It was a pageant of "deep and moving simplicity, befitting that citizen now laid among kings and heroes." In these words John Morley takes leave of the leader, whom he had helped so staunchly and so faithfully in those last years of battle for the right of Ireland to manage her own affairs, and to be herself responsible for good government to the supreme Parliament and the head of the Union.

Mr. Morley remained Irish Secretary till 1895, when the Conservatives came into power. At the general election of 1896 he became member for Montrose Burghs, and retained the seat till 1908. Mr. Morley being now out of office until the Liberals returned to power, had time to bring out a work on Cromwell and his great *Life of Mr. Gladstone*.

On the resignation of Mr. Balfour in 1905, when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was called upon to form an administration, the post of Secretary of State for India was given to Mr. Morley. Thus a public seal was set upon all those years of preparation which had gone towards his training for the duties of this important position. Lord Minto had already been appointed Viceroy in August 1905, on the resignation of Lord Curzon, and thus began the connection between two men, who were destined to work together for the promotion of reform in the Councils of India.

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John Morley came into office at a time when there was a good deal of unrest owing to the partition of Bengal, one of the latest acts of Lord Curzon's administration. The creation of a new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam produced dissatisfaction among the Hindu Bengalis, and amongst other ways of showing their disapproval they started a boycott of English goods. As the seditious spirit spread even to the students, Sir J. Bampfylde Fuller, first Lieutenant-Governor of the new province, suggested that the rebellious colleges should be disaffiliated from the Calcutta University. The Government of India was unwilling to admit a proceeding which would cause a long and undesirable debate in the Senate, and Sir Bampfylde Fuller resigned. After some consideration, the Viceroy accepted the resignation, whilst expressing a warm appreciation of his services. At the same time, though the Government could not agree to that particular method of stopping the disturbances, yet they took other measures as time went on, and tried to cut at the root of the evil by deporting inciters to riot. Mr. Morley also has declared more than once that the question of the partition will not be re-opened. In his speech at Arbroath in 1907 he said firmly that the first and commanding task of Britain in India was to keep order, quell violence, and do justice with impartiality. In May of this

year it was found necessary for the preservation of the peace that districts should be "proclaimed," so that meetings could not be held without notice, and this was followed by a short Act, passed for three years, to strengthen the existing law. Owing to disturbances in the Punjab, two prominent leaders, Lala Rajput Rai and Ajit Singh, were deported. With regard to the former, there was nothing to be said against his personal character, but since he had devoted himself to politics he certainly had become a source of discontent, and was one of the leading spirits in a riot at Rawal Pindi. For sanctioning these deportations, Mr. Morley was hotly attacked, but he refused to yield to pressure, and continued to work for law and order.

The Secretary of India was preparing for the introduction of necessary reforms, and in this year (1907) he appointed the Decentralisation Committee, whose work took more than two years of searching inquiry and examination of experts. Besides the appointment of the Decentralisation Committee, another step was taken in 1907 to bring about a better understanding with the forces of loyalty in our Indian dependency. This was the Act for the enlargement of the Council of India. It consists now of not less than ten members, and of these nine at least must be persons who have resided or served ten years in India, and have not

left India more than five years previous to their appointment. One of the chief alterations brought about by the new Act was the addition of two Indians to the Council. The two new members chosen were Mr. Syed Husain Bilgrami and Mr. K. G. Gupta—one Hindu and one Mahomedan. This admission of Indian members to the Council of India was looked upon as a most important step towards fulfilling pledges given as far back as 1858, when England for the first time assumed full regal authority over that country. We may note here words uttered by Lord Curzon which show that all sides concurred in the necessity for some such step. The ex-Viceroy, speaking at Edinburgh, said: "There is no difference on either side of politics as to the wisdom and necessity of a progressive increase in the employment of Indians in the administration of their country."

A further step was in contemplation. Correspondence began between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy as to the exact form that the new legislative proposals should take, and Lord Minto was authorised to consult leading opinion in India. His conclusions were contained in a despatch which, after some modification, formed the basis of the Indian Councils Bill of 1909. Even Lord Morley's less friendly critics have to admit the sincerity of his efforts to do his duty

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in his high office. Mr. Banerjea once said of him : "Lord Morley is anxious to do justice to us. He is oppressed with a sense of his own responsibility, and therefore is slow to move and cautious to change, but . . . I think Lord Morley is *permeated* with the idea that, whether Indians or Englishmen, we are all equal subjects of the Crown." This mixture of courage and caution especially distinguished the skill with which he piloted the measure in the House of Lords, for by this time John Morley had been raised to the peerage with the title of Viscount Morley of Blackburn, and served his country in the quieter atmosphere of the Upper House.

Before entering into the details of the reforms, it will be as well to look at the circumstances which led up to them, and we will close this short sketch of Lord Morley's career with the passing of this Act, the joint work of himself and Lord Minto, in full confidence that it will be considered the most successful of all his labours for the amelioration of that great country, which is the Eastern jewel of King Edward's crown.



## II.—A GLANCE AT THE PAST

THE responsibility of Great Britain for the government of India practically begins in 1858, when Lord Canning, in a great Durbar held at Allahabad, published the Royal Proclamation concerning the "Act for the better Government of India." By this Act the vast dominions, gradually acquired by the East India Company, passed under the direct rule of the Crown, and became an important item in the building up of a sovereignty greater than that of Rome. The more important clauses in the proclamation are as follows:—

"Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company. . . .

"We hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to

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submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf. . . .

“ We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own ; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

“ We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fill.

“ We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law ; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

“ And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service

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the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge."

In the early years of this rule, the financial position, which had been shaken by the shock of the Mutiny, needed the chief attention of the Governor-General, while improvements were also introduced in judicial procedure. Internal administrative improvements were begun during the Viceroyalty of Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, who also sought to develop the natural resources of the country, and to reorganise the native law-courts. In his efforts for sanitation and education, he was often hampered by financial difficulties.

During the rule of Lord Mayo (assassinated in 1872) administrative reform was still to the fore, and the Public Works Department passed under the direct control of the Viceroy. Already the pressure of over-centralisation was being felt, and the chief event of Lord Mayo's term of office was the inauguration of local self-government, by which certain responsibilities were passed on to the provincial governments.

As time went on, there was no slackening of the tie which bound India to the Home Government. On the contrary, it was given both strength and dignity when, by the assumption of the title of Empress of India, Queen Victoria showed that she was conscious of the obligations to her Eastern

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dominions. The great Durbar of 1877, at which this title was proclaimed, was held at Delhi, the ancient capital of the Mogul Empire, and so emphasised the fact that, for good or evil, the ancient sway was a thing of the past, and that India now had its face set towards the future. In what follows we are chronicling, not famine or war, or frontier alterations, but the general trend of internal administration.

Lord Lytton (Viceroy from 1876 to 1880) extended Lord Mayo's decentralisation system, especially as regards the financial affairs of local governments.

We first notice the growing trouble given by the vernacular press, when we see that it was necessary to establish a press censorship in 1878. It is not to be supposed that the misrule of the Company should all at once be forgotten, or that every effort of the Imperial Viceroy should be understood. The native press was the opportunity of the agitator, and to this day it often hampers the efforts of the moderate reformer by exciting to deeds of violence, as well as putting another difficulty in the path of a sympathetic Viceroy.

Lord Ripon's administration marks a very decided difference in the idea of the devolution of authority; hitherto it had been carried out to relieve the pressure at headquarters, or to promote

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efficiency in the provincial governments. To him is due the establishment of both municipalities and rural boards, having the elective principle as part of their constitution. Here for the first time the native became of some account in the management of his home affairs. Those who see in it the beginning of recent troubles ignore the fact that reform in the present is sometimes the only alternative to revolution in the future. The "unchanging East" has not stood still; Japan has proved it already, and China is awakening; it would be strange if an educated India should acquiesce in a cast-iron system, without consideration for its legitimate aspirations. Under Lord Ripon vernacular education was promoted, and the Mahomedan encouraged to participate in state-aided education. The Viceroy also made an effort to dispense with the Press Act, which was repealed in 1883. By a compromise following the withdrawal of the "Ilbert Bill," Europeans could be tried by native judges who were members of the Civil Service holding rank of district magistrate and sessions judge. There is little further to chronicle in the way of extension in local self-government, except that a larger non-official element was introduced into the Provincial Legislative Councils by an Act passed in 1892, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne. A good deal of the work which

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preceded the Council's Act of 1892 had been done under Lord Dufferin's Government.

The reforms then introduced were:—

1. The enlargement of the Legislative Councils.
2. The recognition of the elective principles.
3. The right of interpellation and free discussion of the Budget.

These concessions corresponded to the changing conditions of the Indian himself. His introduction to English education, his increased employment in actual administrative work, and his intellectual fitness were all causes that led to an inevitable result.

Lord Curzon, who was appointed Viceroy in 1899, had a somewhat different view of his aims and responsibilities, in administering the country over which he now bore rule. His own words best express what his idea was:—

“Efficiency of administration is in my view a synonym for the contentment of the governed. . . . Yet what criticism is now more familiar to me than that no one in India desires administrative reform at all, and that the only benefactor of the people is he who gives political concessions. . . . I sympathise most deeply with the aspirations of the Indian towards greater national unity, and with their desire to play a part in the public life of the country. But I do not think that the salvation of India is to be

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sought on the field of politics at the present stage of her development."

In his last viceregal speech, delivered at Simla, 1905, Lord Curzon thus characterised the object at which he had aimed during his term of office: "If I were asked to sum it up in a single word, I would say 'efficiency.' That has been the keynote of our administration."

It has, however, been recognised by many Anglo-Indian experts that "efficiency" alone will not produce content in the minds of the men who have been educated on Western models, and who by means of the press can influence their fellow-countrymen. A late member of the Viceroy's Council<sup>1</sup> has said that "A stage has been reached, when the granting of these reforms may involve some falling away from that administrative efficiency which has been the Englishman's idol."

Thus Lord Curzon's pursuit of "efficiency" was insufficient to meet the case. It is easy now to see that another sixteen or seventeen years has intensified the condition of things which prevailed in 1892, and an extension of the principles of that Act would in any case have been necessary, though several events concurred to neutralise, in the minds of the people in general, the good effects that ought to have followed the advances made in the direction

<sup>1</sup> Sir Arundel Arundel, K.C.S.I.

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of reform and the delegation of authority. Famine and plague in 1896-7, with the measures necessary for their repression, caused suspicion and renewed dislike among the uneducated masses of the population. Panic and disorder were the consequences. The cheap press fomented the trouble, and the laws against seditious writings had to be strictly enforced. Though each succeeding governor strove to improve irrigation, agriculture, education, &c., yet there was little real effort to continue Lord Ripon's policy exactly on his own lines. With the growth of education came the growth of discontent.

It became impossible to let the question alone any longer. The Indian had been given hope to feed his aspirations. The Royal Proclamation of 1858, already quoted, had contained one important clause, upon which he built his claim. These noble words, which echoed the very spirit of the English race, are to the effect that the King-Emperor's subjects, of whatever race or creed, should be admitted to offices in his service as soon as they were qualified by education, ability, and integrity. Ever since Lord William Bentinck's resolution of 1835 with regard to the establishment of education funds, the adaptable Hindu, who was being formed on Western lines, had been eagerly fitting himself for State employment, and many thousands had been ab-



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and I into the lower posts of the administration. As the ablest ones rose into higher employ, and became valuable instruments to help the supreme Government, it was natural that they should seek further outlets for their talents. The "National Congress" was formed (1885) to give vent to their wants in a legitimate way, and other agitation, of a secret and illegal nature, also testified to a state of things which needed action on the part of the ruling power. This was the condition of Indian affairs which preceded and accompanied the scheme of Indian reform drawn up by Lord Morley and Lord Minto. They began at once to consider in what way they could adapt the old communities to the needs of a new generation. By commission and inquiry, they endeavoured to estimate the latest way of carrying out the pledges of 1858. The Jubilee of that auspicious year, when Britain had taken up the burden of Empire in the East, was made the opportunity for announcing to all the assembled princes and peoples of India that, after half a century, short as it is in the annals of government, the conditions laid down by the earlier proclamation were nearer fulfilment than they had hitherto been. Nothing was to be done by revolutionary methods, but much by gradual reform and the widening of the basis of responsibility. It was announced in the pro-

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clamation of the King-Emperor, 2nd November 1908, that:—

“Steps are being continuously taken towards obliterating distinctions of race as the test for access to posts of public authority and power. In this path I confidently expect and intend the progress henceforward to be steadfast and sure, as education spreads, experience ripens, and the lessons of responsibility are well-learned by the keen intelligence and apt capabilities of India.

“From the first, the principle of representative institutions began to be gradually introduced, and the time has come when, in the judgment of my Viceroy and Governor-General and others of my counsellors, that principle may be prudently extended. Important classes among you, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship, and a greater share in legislation and government. The politic satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power. Administration will be all the more efficient if the officers who conduct it have greater opportunities of regular contact with those whom it affects, and with those who influence and reflect common opinion about it. I will not speak of the measures that are now being diligently framed for these objects. They will speedily be made known

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to you, and will. I am very confident, mark a notable stage in the beneficent progress of your affairs."

The Indian Councils Act of 1909 was the performance of this promise.

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### III.—PRELIMINARIES TO REFORM

THE first draft came from the Viceroy, Lord Minto, and he submitted to the Secretary of State for India certain proposals which he thought might fulfil the object of admitting educated Indian opinion to a greater share in the government of their country. The Governor-General's original proposal included the creation of Advisory Councils and enlarged Legislative Councils, therefore these were the points which Lord Morley had to consider. Before coming to a decision, His Majesty's Government 'authorised the Governor-General in Council to consult Local Governments on the scheme. In this circular, dated August 24, 1907, Lord Minto considered first the question of establishing Advisory Councils. It was hoped that the process of interpellations, admitted by the Act of 1892, would lead to the diffusion of a more correct view of public affairs. But this free consultation of the Government with the representatives of Indian thought was neutralised by the fact, that the Councils met infrequently and

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their procedure was very formal. It was this consideration that induced Lord Minto to suggest a supplementary type of Council which should have for its object to associate the "great Ruling Chiefs and the territorial magnates of British India with the Governor-General in the guardianship of common and Imperial interests."

There were subjects deeply affecting the welfare of the people, such as famine relief or education, in which the Native States and the British Government could fitly co-operate with great advantage to each other, especially as some of the more advanced of these States have already assimilated their methods to those followed by the British Government. We may call attention here, for example, to the very enlightened views of the Gaekwar of Baroda on education, which are considered in a later section of this work. Lord Minto, in order to bring about this interchange of views, inclined to the establishment of a definite body of advisers, having merely a consultative status, who would confer with the Governor-General either individually or collectively. When summoned to assemble for the purpose of collective deliberation, their object would be to discuss matters affecting the welfare of the people. The responsibility of taking action would still rest with the executive as heretofore. On these lines

an "Imperial Advisory Council" was to be established, especially representative of the Ruling Chiefs and important territorial magnates, to meet when called upon and confer with the Governor-General. The Provinces, too, were to have their Advisory Councils of the same nature, which were to be entirely distinct from the legislative bodies. We have made this brief review of Lord Minto's original proposal, to see the points in which it differs from the final reform scheme; it is only necessary to add that the idea of Advisory Councils met with little support, and was dropped from the Bill when it was debated in Parliament.

The other point touched upon in the circular was the "Enlargement of the Legislative Councils." Lord Lansdowne had already, in 1889, expressed an opinion: (1) That, the financial situation of the country should be reviewed at stated intervals by the Legislative Council of the Governor-General; (2) that members of the Council should have some power of addressing questions to the Government on matters of public interest. The Councils Act of 1861 contained in it a provision authorising the Government to make regulations for the nomination of additional members; this provision had been made use of in 1892, and Lord Minto considered that the time had now come for the extension of the principle involved—*i.e.* to give

representation to the views of different races, classes, and localities. The Government of India had become aware, that the professional classes of barristers and pleaders had nearly monopolised the seats, which were meant for these representatives, and it was anxious to arrange an electorate of the landed and moneyed classes. For this reason the Viceroy proposed to increase the number of non-officials in the Councils, and he also proposed the retention of the official majority. This latter point was altered after more mature deliberation, so that the completed Act insists upon exactly the opposite principle of a permanent non-official majority except for the Viceregal Council.

In this preliminary outline of reform the reconstruction of the Imperial Legislative Council was considered. It is not necessary to enter into the exact numbers proposed for the enlarged Council; the points chiefly dealt with were: (1) The due representation of the great landholders; (2) the question of a general electorate; (3) the means of securing adequate representation of the Mahomedan interest. This last was a burning question; it had to be thoroughly discussed when the finished Bill came before the Imperial Parliament. The final decision, and undoubtedly the best in view of all the circumstances, still occasions some discontent in the more hostile Hindu portion of the popula-

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tion; and it will be entered into more fully in the review of the Bill, both during the debate on the subject and in its final shape.

The last point raised in this important circular was the suggestion that the discussions on the Budget might be made more useful as well as more systematic than they are at present. It was suggested that the different financial heads should be explained and discussed separately, instead of allowing only one speech to each member, in which he was obliged to deal at once with all the numerous points included in a general review of the year's finance, if he wished to criticise. This change we find favoured by the new Act, and dealt with in detail in the Viceroy's final regulations.

It is unnecessary to enter into a long account of the criticism which these proposals called forth. They had purposely been advanced in a tentative form in order that expert opinion might be given, and that men who had experience of India's needs and India's capacity for government might give their view. We know now that the proposals were greatly modified before they were brought before Parliament in the form of a Bill, and any discussion of them is best taken into consideration in connection with the parliamentary debates on that measure.

At the same time Lord Morley did not neglect



other sources of information. The reform proposals had for their object the increase of native representation in the Supreme and Provincial Councils, and he had a large ideal of self-government in his mind. He knew that the upper administrative departments were over-taxed with work, and he desired to bring about a redistribution of the burden. The manner in which he hoped to arrange this was by a complete system of local representation, the formation, as it were, of a chain of committees and councils, beginning at the small village committee with its local and home duties, upward through the district board, till it linked on to the highest Council in the land. This could only be done by a large devolution of work; and to ascertain in what manner this could best be effected, a Decentralisation Committee, composed of the chief experts in Indian affairs, and including Mr. Romesh Dutt, was appointed to travel through the great Provinces of India, and to report on the best means of promoting an effective scheme for the delegation of authority in matters of local administration.

The Royal Commission on Decentralisation in India held its first meeting at Madras on November 22, 1907, and Mr. Hobhouse in his opening speech reminded the members that they were appointed directly by the King-Emperor, and that their powers, therefore, issued directly from the Crown.

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They were committed to unsparing impartiality in their inquiry into the relations of the Government of India with the Provincial Governments, and of other matters connected with the distribution of administrative powers. The object of any changes which might be effected through their recommendation was the peace and contentment of the vast territories over which the Imperial Government ruled. The long labours of the Committee did not terminate until after the Councils Bill had passed through Parliament and become an Act. The measures taken to give effect to their recommendations still lie in the future, but some idea of their scope can be gained by noticing the trend of the debates on that Bill, and a study of the report of the Decentralisation Committee.

#### IV.—DECENTRALISATION

THE concentration of administrative power in the hands of the Supreme Council began, as time went on, to throw upon that body more work than it could accomplish without some loss of efficiency. At last it was thought advisable to inquire into the means by which some of the authority might be delegated to other bodies. For this purpose, a Royal Commission was appointed in 1907 by Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India, "to inquire into the relations now existing for financial and administrative purposes between the Supreme Government and the various Provincial Governments." The Commission was to report whether measures of decentralisation could be adopted to improve these relations, and to "bring the executive power into closer touch with local conditions." In the course of their inquiries, the Commissioners visited all the major Provinces as well as the North-West Frontier Province and Beluchistan. They were thus brought into contact with all the many nationalities which come under British rule—peoples not only of different

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tongues, but of differing degrees of civilisation, who can best be brought to understand what responsibility means by being brought into some larger scheme of local government.

The Provincial Governments, besides having criminal jurisdiction, also control education, sanitation, the development of natural resources by forestry, irrigation, &c., as well as the collection of revenue by which the expenses for these objects are met. In discussing decentralisation, the Commission had not to consider whether these duties should be supplemented by others—*i.e.* it is not proposed that defence, general taxation, or the means of communication should be removed from headquarters, but whether a freer hand might not be given to the Provincial Council. In the past there had been continual reference to the Central Government on many trivial matters. Lord Minto, in a humorous mood, complained in a Budget speech that he might at times be called upon to decide whether 70 rupees was an extraordinary price for a horse, or whether, in some distant station, expenses should be allowed for the erection of a bathroom! He hoped that in time something would be done to relieve the Governor of such trivial duties.

In the report of this Decentralisation Committee we may see some of the work at present laid on the Provincial Government in which, now that the

Councils Act (1909) has passed, the Indian will have a greater share, and we can better tell what training it is thus proposed he should have in the work of directing a great administration.

First, there is the control of local finance. In 1904, by a change in the financial arrangements between the Government of India and the Province, a fixed revenue was assigned to each Province for its own needs, and the Province can now retain the use of its surplus balances. As certain sources of revenue, such as customs and railways, are in the control of the Supreme Government, so their proceeds go to headquarters; but the Legislative Council of the Province has the revenue from police, education, law, and medicine, and is therefore interested in their good management. The revenue from excise, stamps, income-tax, forestry, and irrigation is divided between the Province and the Government of India. The Commission had under consideration proposals for ending this somewhat complicated arrangement, and, though nothing definite was settled, the members all united in declaring that the Provincial Governments should eventually be given independent sources of revenue and separate powers of taxation, subject to a general control of the Viceregal Council.

Next, with regard to public works, the Commission collected evidence to the effect that the

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supervision of the Government of India was much too close, and necessitated constant reference to the central authority. They recommended a great devolution of authority in this respect, and also that the Provincial Governments should be trusted with<sup>o</sup> the appointment of their chief engineers, and the power to grant the necessary expenditure.

In view of the great differences between the various Provinces, it is surprising to find that in 1901 a uniform education code was prepared for all European schools, so that no Provincial Government can alter the provisions without the consent of the Supreme Council. Burma even suffers from this passion for uniformity, and has to be affiliated to the University of the Viceregal city. It is to be hoped<sup>o</sup> that the reconstituted Legislative Councils will be allowed a voice<sup>o</sup> in the educational arrangements for their own Province, for it is yet to be proved that a codal uniformity with no allowance for variety of treatment to suit the type of scholar in the different schools, is an ideal educational arrangement. The Commission even recommends, with regard to Burma, that "the indigenous monastic schools should be preserved and fostered." This wise provision would be in keeping with the traditional English principle, where India is concerned, that native religions are not to be interfered with, and that strict impartiality shall be

the mark of our government. To crush under one code, and into one type of school, the scholars of different creeds and antagonistic races is quite contrary to the traditions of English freedom. These are some of the principal points with regard to which the enlarged Legislative Councils will have increased authority as time goes on. Some consideration was given to the question of the Imperial Inspectors-General. In some Provinces they are looked upon as a species of unnecessary official; on the other hand, the central Government approves of them as part of a useful machinery for keeping it informed of the working of the departments in the various Provinces. The further devolution goes, the more necessity is there for some link between the head and the members of the administrative body.

We may see, by the subjects involved, that there is a close connection between decentralisation and the reform proposals of Lord Morley. Now that the Act is passed, and the wishes of the Indian educated classes have been met, it is impossible for the supreme Government to keep so many departments under constant central supervision. The abilities of the Indian are to be utilised, and they must be given something on which to work.

Any complete scheme of decentralisation will have to be thoroughly discussed and carefully arranged before it will be possible to apply it through-

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out all the Provinces concerned, and it is yet to be decided whether the change shall be managed by means of an Act amending each section involved or by a general Act of delegation. In any case it seems certain that in a very few years the reconstructed Legislative Councils will have a great increase of experience and responsibility; the case for the extension of executive Councils to other Provinces besides Bengal will be found necessary in view of the altered conditions and the increased powers of the administrative departments in these Provinces. Such are the inevitable changes caused by the growing complexities of modern life.

But besides noting these differences in the details of existing administration, the Commission also had under consideration the manner in which decentralisation could be brought about by the creation of a new body. This is a point which, as we know, Lord Morley also had at heart when he spoke of the administrative structure with its foundation in the Village Council. Mr. Gokhale, as one of the witnesses examined by the Commission, gave his opinion on this point. He spoke of the collector, who as head of a district was the official most immediately in contact with the people, and pointed out that with the increase of central departments his position had decayed, and at the same time his influence was undermined by the independence



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caused by modern conditions. Since it was necessary to have some kind of authority to link the lowest rank of the community with those above, and since the paternal despotism of the collector was obsolete, it would be advisable to revive the village *Panchayat*, and to render the local and municipal boards really representative and in command of a certain expenditure. Above these should come District Councils, with consultative powers, so that the collector would act in concert with them, and thus questions of district business would be dealt with on the spot, and without continual reference to the supreme Government.

The points dealt with by the *Panchayat* should be the management of village forests, water supply, and sanitation, of finance in connection with agricultural loans and famine relief, and finally it should have the power to try trivial offences. Thus the village area would be the first unit in the complete administrative scheme.

The second should be the *Taluka*, made up of a group of villages. The Board would, in this case, be wholly elective, and would, on the same principle as the *Panchayat*, govern the sub-district. Both the organisations would be suspended in case of misconduct.

Third in the ascending scale comes the District. At present the District Board has considerable



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mere inspector. The Commission also favours the administration of the Province by a Council, as in Madras, with a Governor appointed from home.

Considering these proposals side by side with Lord Morley's reforms, we see—both in Mr. Gokhale's suggestions of the revival of the Panchayat, which was approved by the Commission, and their own suggestion of an extension of Governors' Councils—great hope for the future development of Indian government on lines which Lord Salisbury once characterised as "highly favourable to the well-being of the Indian people."

## PART II

### THE PASSING OF THE ACT

“Oh, it is excellent to have a giant’s strength,  
But it is tyrannous to use it like a giant.”

*Measure for Measure*, II. 2.

“The question with me is not whether you have a right to render your people miserable, but whether it is not your interest to make them happy.”—BURKE.



## I.—NEW IDEALS IN INDIAN GOVERNMENT

WE may safely say that Lord Ripon, who retired in 1884, was the first Indian Viceroy who made a systematic effort to apply Western ideals to the government of India.

He was the first to appoint an Indian to officiate as Chief-Justice of Bengal. In his "Ilbert Bill" he proposed to empower Indian born members of the Indian Civil Service to exercise criminal jurisdiction over Europeans, and so place them on an equality with the other members of the same service. He did not succeed in passing this alteration in the procedure of the law courts, but in other departments he initiated a fine constructive policy, in finance, education, land tenure, and local government; and in all his dealings with India he disdained anything that was not sympathetic, straightforward, and just. He was true to the words in which he exhorted the Council Chamber at Calcutta to remember that:

"Righteousness exalteth a nation."

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It has been well said that "He was the first Viceroy to discover the New India, the India not of expanding frontiers but of expanding souls." The growth of knowledge, of national aspirations, of self-realisation, in the Indian peoples, is now apparent to every one; but Lord Ripon approached the problem when as yet its very existence was denied.

But these ideals were not consistently followed out; and the state of expectancy and unrest already described was the inheritance into which John Morley stepped when he became Secretary for India in 1907.

He found that whatever changes had recently been made were directed to the promotion of mechanical efficiency, rather than to the encouragement of native participation in the machinery of government.

As Lord Morley observed: "The doctrine of administrative efficiency had been pressed too hard. The wheels of the huge machine had been driven too fast. . . . The district officers representing British rule to the majority of the people of India are overloaded with work in their official relations, and there are highly experienced gentlemen who say that a little of the looseness of earlier days is better fitted than the regular system of latter days to win and keep personal influence, and that

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we are in danger of creating a pure bureaucracy.”<sup>1</sup>

As far back as the Mutiny, Mr. Bright had said that the “centralised government of India was much too powerful for any one man to work,” and Indian experts of otherwise divergent views had agreed with this opinion.

The Viceroy, Lord Minto, was at one with Lord Morley in recognising the mischief of over-centralisation, and acquiesced in the suggestion of a Royal Commission to inquire into the remedy; he also appointed, in the autumn of 1906, a committee of the Executive Council to consider the development of the legislative machinery. The despatch which he sent home in March on the subject was progressive in character, and his colleague says appreciatively, that “the Viceroy with a liberal and courageous mind entered deliberately on the path of improvement.”

Lord Morley, on his appointment to the post of Secretary of State for India, had the principles of his predecessor, Lord Ripon, to look back upon, and he had in Lord Minto a sympathetic Governor-General, anxious on his own account to carry through the inevitable political reforms.

There were idealists at home, clamorous for impossible concessions; there were “extremists” in

<sup>1</sup> India Budget Speech, June 6, 1907.



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India, unsatisfied with reasonable proposals; there were outbreaks of disorder and outrage committed by desperate men. Yet neither Viceroy nor Secretary were driven from their determination to do justice whilst maintaining order. Lord Morley was firm, but he was at the same time sympathetic. He allowed for the "fire and heated energy" of the extremist, and in all the unrest he recognised an eventual movement towards a New India:—

"Is all that is called unrest in India mere froth? Or is it a deep rolling flood? Is it the result of natural order and wholesome growth in this vast community? Is it natural effervescence, or is it deadly fermentation? Is India, with all its heterogeneous populations—is it moving slowly and steadily to new and undreamt of unity?"<sup>1</sup>

He also reminded Englishmen that they must take into consideration the spread of Western ideas by the education, which England has generously fostered in her great Eastern dependency. Men who had been nourished on Burke and Mill, could not fail to be imbued with the ideals of freedom and self-government, which vivify their pages.

Many of the arguments in Burke's famous proposals for "Conciliation with America" could be urged by the people of India, asking for some voice in the government of their country. The whole

<sup>1</sup> At Arbreath, Oct. 21, 1907.

gist of his plea was "to admit the people of our Colonies into an interest in the Constitution," and he upholds it in glowing words which must find an echo in generous breasts.

"Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together," are words which seem the call of East to West. By trust in the governed, the Imperial bond may be made more sure.

Yet Lord Morley at the same time warned these eager minds that even noble enthusiasms cannot annihilate time or labour. "How weary a step it is," he quotes, "to make out of a great mass a political personality." Yet he set out to attempt it, to shape at least some preliminary image of the completed form of which he dreamed, and he was sustained in his heavy task by his confidence that the Indian was capable of high and noble things.

"Anybody," he says, "who has a chance ought to try to appeal to the better, the riper, mind of educated India. Time has gone on with me, experience has widened. I have never lost my invincible faith that there is a better mind in all civilised communities—and that this better mind, if you can reach it, if statesmen in time to come can reach that better mind, can awaken it, can evoke it, can induce it to apply itself to practical purposes for the improvement of the conditions of such a community—they

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will earn the crown of beneficent fame indeed. Nothing strikes me much more than this, when I talk of the better mind of India—there are subtle elements, religious, spiritual, mystical, traditional, historical in what we may call for the moment the Indian mind, which are very hard for the most candid and patient to grasp or to realise in their full force. But our duty, and it is a splendid duty, is to try. I always remember a little passage in the life of a great Anglo-Indian, Sir Henry Lawrence,—a very simple passage,—and it is this: ‘No one ever ate at Sir Henry Lawrence’s table without learning to think more kindly of the natives.’”<sup>1</sup>

With this conviction of the Indian’s “better mind,” Lord Morley started on his path of conciliation, armed with a “resolute patience,” and a determination to go slowly rather than to make no progress at all.

He was met with this difficulty, that the more impetuous and irreconcilable spirits in India tried to gain the concessions they demanded by methods of intimidation. Plots, ending in bomb-throwing and other lawless acts, were directed against the Government, and the Regulation of 1818, providing for deportation of seditious characters, was put into force.

<sup>1</sup> Arbroath, Oct. 21, 1907.

## II.—OUTLINES OF THE REFORM SCHEME

WHEN, therefore, Lord Morley rose in his place in the House of Lords on December 17, 1908, to explain his proposed reforms, based on the Indian despatches of October 1st, he had to make some preliminary observations on these drastic measures. A man of Lord Morley's known moderation, full, too, of plans for conciliation rather than revenge, would not have supported such unpleasing remedies had they seemed to him absolutely unnecessary. England does not abandon the defenders of her empire, however much she may wish to satisfy the aspirations of her subjects. As Lord Morley said: "You must protect peaceful and harmless people, both Indian and European, from the blood-stained havoc of anarchic conspiracy." No party in the Imperial Parliament would for one moment waver on this point, which touches the very springs of good government. Yet coercion is always hateful to a generous mind, and Lord Morley would not allow the necessity for repression to interfere with his schemes, or cause him to abandon plans

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at which he had been working for two years and more. Though he was forced to suppress dangerous tendencies, he refused to suspend the liberties of the press and so produce a "muzzled and lifeless India."

But having vindicated what was, after all, a wise severity, Lord Morley passed with obvious relief to the more agreeable task of explaining the reforms which he proposed to introduce.

Though they were eventually carried in a modified form, it is as well to see here what were the Indian Secretary's original proposals. As the first and most important, he desired to increase the numbers of the Legislative Councils—in the Viceroy's as well as in the Provincial Councils; to supplement the nomination of members by certain elective powers, and to manage this in such a way, that the due representation of the different classes of the community should be secured. He then proposed to enlarge the powers of discussion of the Councils; to allow them to pass financial resolutions, and to send recommendations to the Indian Government. Lord Minto had thus characterised these changes in the despatch on which the proposals were based: "The enlargement of the Legislative Councils, and the extension of their functions to the discussion of administrative questions, are the widest, most deep-reaching, and

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most substantial features of the scheme which we now put forward."

For the Executive Councils, Lord Morley proposed to double the numbers of the existing ones, and to create new ones for the Lieutenant-Governors. The official majority, which a Governor could always secure in his Legislative Council, by means of officials and nominees, was only to be retained in the Council of the Governor-General, though Lord Minto had even suggested abandoning this privilege; but a most important modification was proposed, namely, the appointment of an Indian member on the Viceroy's Executive Council. This step was taken with the absolute approval and concurrence of Lord Minto himself, and Lord Morley called attention to this unanimity as being all the more remarkable for the following reason:—

"Lord Minto and I," he said, "have had as different experience of life and the world as possible, and we belong I dare say to different schools of national politics, because Lord Minto was appointed by the party opposite. It is a rather remarkable thing that two men, differing in this way in political antecedents, should agree in this proposal."<sup>1</sup>

Two Indian gentlemen had already been appointed to the Council of India, sitting at the

<sup>1</sup> On Proposed Reforms, House of Lords, Dec. 17, 1908.

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Indian Office with very good effect. They had worked harmoniously with their other colleagues, and had been most useful in representing Indian affairs from a native point of view. They helped the Secretary of State to see with Eastern eyes the people whom he was trying to guide wisely in their transition to Western forms of government.

### III.—RECEPTION OF THE PROPOSALS IN INDIA

As the outlines of the reforms became known in India, they gave the warmest satisfaction to all classes. They showed the thoughtful politician that the English Government was in earnest, and that it wished to dispense as soon as possible with deportations, trials for sedition, and police-rule. It is true that, four days after the scheme had been published, a diabolical attempt was made to blow up a train between Calcutta and Barrackpore, so that it could not be maintained that the forces of sedition and anarchy were immediately disarmed by the offer of a voice in the administration of the law; but the best Indian opinion—that which had never swerved in its belief in the ultimate triumph of honour and fairplay—was given a weapon wherewith to combat these enemies of order, these adversaries of all compromise. The educated Indian had his sympathies attracted towards the Government once more. In the Viceroy he found one, who was willing to meet his offers to co-operate with the Imperial Parliament in its efforts to make the



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Indian race a willing member of a great empire, and not a captive nation. The majority of thinking Indians could not but see in the scheme, which was now getting into shape, a real outlet for both patriotism and loyalty.

The presidential address of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose to the Indian National Congress, assembled at Madras, reflects these feelings. As he was supported by the Nawab Syed Mahomed, representative of Madras on the Viceroy's Legislative Council, by Mr. R. N. Mudholkar of Berar, and Sir Balchandra Krishna of Bombay, his utterances may be quoted as voicing the sentiments of more than one representative body of Indian opinion. He speaks of "English statesmanship which, as Lord Morley justly boasted, has never yet failed in any part of the world," having "risen to its full height at this critical time," and having "seized the golden moment . . . to guide the new spirit which England has created in India."

He recalls the Proclamation of Queen Victoria—that great sovereign, whose aspiration was to rule with justice over an empire of free subjects—and he pointed out that its keynote was the equality of races, and that now, at last, with "a Morley at the helm in England and a Minto at the head of the administration in India," the time for an

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extension of local self-government, that potent instrument of political education, was come. He exhorts his fellow-countrymen to rally to the support of law and order, and utters grateful words of Lord Minto, who had "displayed a rare courage and firmness in trying times, and had steadily refused, though determined to put down lawlessness, to follow the unwise policy of his predecessor." He ends with a flight of prophecy, which shows at any rate that Western ideas can be assimilated by Oriental minds:—

"When in the fulness of time the people have outgrown the present system of administration, and have proved themselves fit for self-government, an exultant President will be able to announce to a united people, amid universal rejoicing, the extension to India' of the colonial type of Government," adding, however, a caution, "I am bound to tell you that this ideal can only be realised in the distant future. . . . We are not impatient Utopians filled with ecstatic vision; for we know of no talisman which can make a nation in an hour. We know that our hopes are not likely to be realised in a day. We know that for years we may not have even a Pisgah sight of the promised land. But to blot out the ideal is, according to the Greek saying, to take the spring

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from out of the year. It is at once our solace and our inspiration, our pole-star to guide us, and our comfort . . . in quietness and in confidence shall be our strength, and persuasion and discussion shall be our only weapons."

"

#### IV.—THE MAHOMEDAN DIFFICULTY

IN the meantime, in England, Lord Morley was slowly, and step by step, working for the realisation of his overtures for peace and goodwill. Before the critical moment came, when the joint scheme of the Viceroy and the Indian Secretary would be brought forward for discussion in the Imperial Parliament, a problem presented itself, which ran all through the debates on the establishment of the proposed Councils.

It was caused by the inherent difficulty of arranging a representative system suited to a vast population made up of units differing both in creed and race. The necessity of satisfying, in some degree, the conflicting claims of Hindu and Mahomedan was illustrated by the deputation from the "All-India Moslem League," which waited upon the Secretary of State in order to represent to him the views of the Musselmans of India on the projected reforms. The despatch, dealing with the election of representatives to the Legislative Councils, had proposed a joint electorate, *i.e.* a body of electors drawn from *all* classes of the population within the

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prescribed area. The Mahomedans feared that this plan would make their interests dependent upon Hindu goodwill, wherever the majority of the electors were of that religion. For Musselman representatives they desired exclusively Musselman electors. Lord Morley, in reply, explained the hope by which he was inspired in suggesting mixed electoral colleges; in the very words of the deputation, he said that: "In common with other well-wishers of India, the Committee look forward to a time when the development of a true spirit of compromise, or the fusion of the races, may make principles indicated by me capable of practical application without sacrificing the interests of any of the nationalities, or giving political ascendancy to one to the disadvantage of the others"; but he was prepared to accept the contention that, for the present, the "interests of the two great communities of India must be considered and dealt with separately."

In striving to bring about the unity of Indian feeling he was no more than an "impatient idealist," and his proposal was directed to this end. The despatch by its very wording did but express a hope, not lay down a law.

The object at which he aimed was justice to all the interests involved by the reforms.

"The Government are bound, whatever you may do among yourselves, strictly, and I will even say

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sternly, to insist on overcoming all obstacles in a spirit of absolute equity. Now, what is the object of the Government? It is that the Legislative Councils should represent truly and effectively, with a reasonable approach to the balance of real social forces, the wishes and needs of the communities themselves."

But bearing in mind his ultimate ideal, Lord Morley uttered a warning word: "Let us all be clear on one thing . . . that no general proposition can be wisely based on the possession by either community, either of superior civil qualities, or superior personal claims. If you begin to introduce that element, you perceive the perils to that peace and mutual goodwill which we hope to emerge by-and-by, though it may take longer than some think."

And he reminded the All-Moslem League that if the scheme miscarried, it would be the loss of a great opportunity: "I can only tell you further," he said, "that if this action of ours fails, miscarries, and is wrecked, it will be a considerable time before another opportunity occurs."

On this point, then, as on many others in the Bill, the Indian Secretary had to arrange a working compromise. It is a hard task for a man of a far-seeing, philosophical mind to postpone his ideals, to suppress his generous enthusiasm, to cramp his

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schemes into a smaller measure than perfection demands; but a practical statesman learns to use the tools and the material at his hand, lest, at the end of the day's work, the day's labour should be ill-done.

## V.—INTRODUCTION OF THE BILL

ACCORDING to his promise, Lord Morley introduced his Indian Councils Bill in the House of Lords immediately after the debate on the Address, and Parliament had now to consider those important modifications of the Indian administrative system, which were necessary in order to meet modern requirements. The issues were important for the future of the Indian Empire, and for the welfare of the millions included in its sway.

It is the custom of the Imperial Parliament to discuss Indian affairs from a non-party point of view. On questions of home or colonial politics it is possible for every thinking man to frame an opinion, because the matter under discussion depends upon conditions which are thoroughly familiar to him. The men whom it concerns are his fellow-countrymen, of his own creed and race; they live under the same circumstances as he does; they have been bred in the same schools of thought; a calamity to them, of any widespread extent, touches him as if he were himself the victim; an external *is* as well as



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theirs; a war finds them all shoulder to shoulder, closing up their ranks and dying in a common cause.

But India presents a different aspect. It is under our care because we tore it from France when Dupleix would have made it an appanage of the French Crown. The Frenchman's tall pillar at Arcot was more than an insult to England after a temporary reverse; it was a menace of overbearing dominion to the Indian plains on which its shadow fell, for France has a heavy hand when she holds alien races in her sway. We have defended India ever since from the covetous grasp of other enemies. English blood has reddened the Afghan frontier time after time, as the governing race strove to save the peoples under its care from the cruel mercies of a Muscovite dominion. English example is daily teaching the many classes and creeds of India—Hindu, Parsee and Moslem; Syeds, Rajputs, Moguls and Jats—that in union lies their strength, since they are threatened not only from the West, but also from the East by a race which, having assimilated modern ideas, has asserted its strength successfully even against a European nation; therefore their growing unity must be fostered and directed by that country, which has always striven to rule them justly and for their good. Party spirit has never been

## INTRODUCTION OF THE BILL

allowed to break the continuity of England's efforts to be the friend of the varied races, which have thus fallen under her protection.

This sentiment of tutelage gives to Englishmen a desire to treat Indian affairs with imperial large-heartedness.

To this we must add that the average member of Parliament feels some diffidence in touching matters concerning which he is unskilled. He knows that the Indian Government's authority must not be lightly attacked, lest he should be setting ajar the door for external enemies to enter in. He is for the maintenance of that strict impartiality between castes and creeds, which is the secure foundation of a just dominion. He is anxious that a fair balance should be held between weakness and severity, and that the welfare of the poorest, unrepresented Indian ryot should be studied as carefully as that of the self-governed English peasant or artisan.

The means by which these objects shall be attained, he is forced to leave to the judgment of the experts. On the one hand stands the Anglo-Indian official, reluctant to give up any portion of his power; on the other stands the eager reformer, on fire with Western theories, and eager to extend to all races the constitution under which he lives. Yet even the followers of

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these two extreme points of view do not coalesce into two definite parties; they meet in the one aim to do their best for the Indian subjects of the empire. This desire to be fair has been recently exemplified, on the one side by the Viceroy's statesmanlike handling of the reform question, and on the other, by the Chief Secretary's appointment of two Indian gentlemen to the consultative body of the Council of India, sitting at the Indian Office. As Lord Morley reminded the All-Moslem League:—

“You will never again—I do not care whether the time be long or be short—you will never again have the combination of a Secretary of State and a Viceroy, who are more thoroughly in earnest in their desire to improve Indian government, and to do full justice to every element of the Indian population.”

This attitude of impartiality in dealing with Indian affairs in the English Parliament does not, however, interfere with the due discussion of any great measure for the welfare of Hindustan as a whole. Experts may differ as to the means to be employed, even while they approve of the end to be attained; members with some knowledge of the country—either acquired by travel, or by study, or by intercourse with educated Indians in this country—may put forth views in the course of debate which



tives of the people. We must be prepared to support, defend, and carry through the administrative policy, and in a certain degree even the executive acts, of the Government in the Council, in much the same way as is now prescribed in regard to measures of legislation; and we must further be prepared to discharge this task without the aid of a standing majority behind us.

“ ‘ We will have to resort to the more difficult arts of persuasion and conciliation, in the place of the easier methods of autocracy. This is no small demand to make on the resources of a service, whose training and traditions have hitherto led its members rather to work for the people than through the people or their representatives. But I am nevertheless confident that the demand will not be made in vain. For more than a hundred years, in the time of the Company and under the rule of the Crown, the Indian Civil Service has never failed to respond to whatever call has been made upon it, or to adapt itself to the changing environment of the time. I feel no doubt that officers will be found who possess the natural gifts, the loyalty, the imagination, and the force of character, which will be requisite for the conduct of the administration under the more advanced form of government to which we are about to succeed.’ ”

“ These words I commend to your Lordship.”

## INTRODUCTION OF THE BILL

They breathe a fine and high spirit; they admirably express the feeling of a sincere man."

Lord Morley admitted that the times were difficult and even critical, but still he hoped by conciliatory measures to lessen the friction. One of the main principles of the Bill was the extension of the elective principle, which had found a place in the measure of 1892. But there was a difficulty in arranging an electorate which would meet the needs of the Mahomedan minority. The way in which he settled this shows his open mind, and his desire to meet any possible grievance or inequality, caused by the method of election to the Legislative Councils. The arguments by which he supported his change of view on the question of mixed electoral colleges may be quoted:—

"The Mahomedans demand three things. . . . They demand the election of their own representatives to these Councils in all the stages. . . . Secondly, they want a number of seats somewhat in excess of their numerical strength. These two demands we are quite ready and intend to meet in full. There is a third demand that, if there is a Hindu on the Viceroy's Executive Council—a subject on which I will venture to say something to your Lordships before I sit down—there should be two Indian members on the Viceroy's Council, and one should be a Mahomedan. Well, as I told them, and as

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I now tell your Lordships, I see no chance whatever of meeting their views in that way.

"To go back to the point of the registers, some may be shocked at the idea of a religious register at all, a register framed on the principle of religious belief. We may wish—we do wish—that it were otherwise. We hope that time, with careful and impartial statesmanship, will make things otherwise. Only let us not forget that the difference between Mahomedanism and Hinduism is not a mere difference of articles of religious faith or dogma. It is a difference in life, in tradition, in history, in all the social things as well as articles of belief, that constitute a community. Do not let us forget what makes it interesting and even exciting. Do not let us forget that, in talking of Hindus and Mahomedans, we are dealing with, and are brought face to face with, vast historic issues. We are dealing with the very mightiest forces that through all the centuries and ages have moulded the fortunes of great States and the destinies of countless millions of mankind. Thoughts of that kind, my Lords, are what give to Indian politics and to Indian work extraordinary fascination, though at the same time they impose the weight of an extraordinary burden."<sup>1</sup>

The whole tone of the speeches in this opening

<sup>1</sup> Second reading of Indian Councils Bill.

## INTRODUCTION OF THE BILL

debate bore the characteristic, already pointed out, of a desire to meet the aspirations of progressive Indian thought. Lord Morley had pithily described the difference between Lord Curzon and himself as representing, on the one hand, a conviction that the ideal for India was *efficiency* in administration, and on the other, a desire to reach the end by *political concession*. It was natural, then, that the late Viceroy should scan carefully the proposals before the House, and that he should cast some doubt on their efficacy in every particular; but he ended by meeting the Chief Secretary's generous tribute to his "passionate and devoted interest in all that concerns the well-being of India," by admitting, that he was in no way hostile to the scheme as a whole. His principal contention was that Lord Morley was going too fast, and would, do well to moderate his pace a little.

Such men as Lord Ampthill, who had formed their opinions on the spot, or Lord Cromer, who drew analogies from his own experience in organising the government of an alien race, both acknowledged the need for the reforms—the former admitted that we must satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people of India by substantial concessions, and the latter especially approved of what he called the "political argument" of the extension of the principle of self-government, while at the same time



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giving its weight to the "efficiency argument," so that an important appointment should be filled in the best possible way, either by European or Native, as far as the circumstances would allow. After this general unanimity as to the principle on which the Bill was framed, the House then proceeded to the consideration of detail.

## VI.—PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COUNCILS

THE principal subject of discussion was the famous clause 3, giving power to constitute Provincial Executive Councils. Lord MacDonnell was willing that an experiment should be made in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, but in the Provinces he desired to retain the system of Lieutenant-Governors, since the executive was stronger under personal government, and the ruler more in touch with his people. He mentioned in support of his argument that some of the natives, though they looked for justice to the Lieutenant-Governor, thought that they were still under the government of the East India Company! Apparently he desired to oppose any extension of self-government until, not 4 per cent., as at present, but 40 or 50 per cent. of the entire population, should be educated enough to demand the change, forgetting the teaching of experience, that political education grows with responsibility. Lord Curzon's opposition to the clause came rather from his contention, that not a single Lieutenant-Governor or ex-Lieutenant-

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Governor had written or spoken in favour of the proposed change, but to this objection Lord Morley replied, that he preferred not to lay this invidious task upon them. The House had assented to the great task which the Government had taken in hand, and was not wise or just to deal with the situation piece-meal; it should be faced seriously, firmly, and completely, or not at all.

Lord Lansdowne, whose desire was not to wreck the Bill, suggested that the clause should be held back, and that, in the meantime, Lord Morley should collect a greater mass of information than he had yet adduced, and so throw a brighter light upon the clause. He seemed to see a considerable difference between the Government of the Indian Provinces by the extension of the Legislative Councils, and the creation of new Executive Councils, which was a wholly different matter. On this understanding the clause was deleted, but Lord Morley still held to it as an essential part of his scheme, and it remained for the House of Commons to fight the battle of clause 3, and to secure its final inclusion in the Indian Councils Bill.

Indian opinion on this suppression of clause 3 quickly made itself felt. A public meeting, held in the Town Hall at Calcutta, under the chairmanship of the Nawab of Dacca, and composed both of Mahomedans and Hindus, passed a resolution

deploring the rejection of the clause, and declaring that without it the association of the people in the higher executive government of a Province would be difficult, if not impossible; that its rejection defeated the very object of the reform scheme, and made it unacceptable to the vast majority of the people of the country, which it was intended to benefit. As this resolution was moved by The Hindu Raja Benoy Krishna, and seconded by Mr. Ali Imam, President of the All-Moslem League, while Mr. Moti Lal Ghose gave them warm support, this remarkable unanimity of all parties and shades of political opinion in India could not but strengthen the hands of the Home Government.

Moreover, as Lord Morley informed the House of Lords during the course of the third reading debate, the Viceroy telegraphed that the rejection of the clause was unfortunate; and when to this was added the declaration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal that he was in favour of an Executive Council of his own, the weight of official opinion in favour of some trial, at least, of the proposed change, was fairly heavy.

There was, however, this advantage in the deletion of the clause, that when it was reintroduced in the House of Commons, it was given a form that was likely to add to its acceptability; and the debate on its reinsertion showed plainly, that not so much the

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*principle* of Executive Councils, as the inadvisability of creating them too quickly, was the basis of objection to the clause. The actual wording of the clause met this difficulty to a certain extent; the change was not to be made as soon as the Bill became law, but power was vested in the Governor-General in Council, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to constitute Provincial Executive Councils for the purpose of assisting the Lieutenant-Governor in the government of the Province. The number of members was not to exceed four, and they were to be appointed by the Governor-General. Mr. Hobhouse, who was in charge of the clause, brought out strongly the fact that the great pressure of work on every Lieutenant-Governor was very great.

These officials are responsible for the government of great territories, each covering an area in excess of the British Isles; the population is dense, and their needs are great; famine decimates them at intervals, and plague is not unknown; the Lieutenant-Governor must organise relief; when this need is over, then sanitary and irrigation plans, by which such calamities are to be prevented for the future, must occupy his thoughts. Education and medical relief, agriculture and commercial industry, demand his attention and fostering care. And withal there is the maintenance of order at home,

by means of a good police system, and the preservation of the Province from external attack to be provided for, lest all his improvements should have been in vain. When the time and strength of the ruler fails to cope with every difficulty, then comes in the opportunity of the subordinate official. Sometimes a man with a gift for administration thus gets a chance; often momentous matters are settled a little at haphazard. When this responsibility shall be increased by the new Legislative Councils, the need for an executive to help in the task will be even greater than at present. Public opinion in India, on the whole, favours the change, especially if introduced as the necessity arises. The *Times of India* advocates this extension of the Council system in the right time and place as part of the "evolution of a deliberately and cautiously liberalised scheme of government."

The late Lord Percy made a point of the special circumstances of Bengal, which amounted to the fact that general opinion, both official and lay, considered that a case was made out for the creation of an Executive Council and a Governor. For this reason he was anxious to limit the operation of the clause to this Province, and on these lines he thought a compromise possible between the forward party and those more conservative-minded men, who saw a danger in the hasty

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introduction of far-reaching changes. In so far as these innovations were desirable, he agreed with giving the Government of India the general executive power, but with a proviso that the English Parliament should retain effective control and responsibility in regard to the creation of new Councils, so that it could, if necessary, challenge the Secretary of State to explain in what respect the circumstances had changed, and, if advisable, refuse permission for its introduction.

By the time these conditions were formulated, the two opposing schools of thought had drawn much closer together; such was the advantage of the prolonged discussion caused by the action of the Lords in deleting the Executive Councils clause.

It is one of the great features of the Parliamentary system, when directed to non-party measures, that divergence of view and seemingly irreconcilable positions are gradually brought into harmony, or at any rate to a settled compromise by the very clash of contending opinions; the stronger side has no wish to overwhelm its opponents—it rather desires to conciliate, and if possible to convince.

In regard to the clause under discussion, no one for a moment supposed that it would be finally omitted from the amended Bill; the only question was, by what means could the reforms therein adumbrated be peacefully brought into existence

and recommended to all the different interests concerned ?

Rash words are often uttered by the less responsible members as a debate proceeds, but the men of open mind draw gradually towards the wiser counsels; and by that process of give-and-take, which is the basis of an Englishman's training from the playing-field to the council chamber, a settled course of action is adopted, and loyally acted up to, when once the compact is sealed.

The saving clauses in the speeches of Lord Lansdowne and Lord Curzon made it possible for the Commons to propose clause 3 once more to the consideration of the Lords, in order that they might suggest the precise method of determining the Parliamentary control over the creation of these Councils, in Provinces beyond Bengal. The difficulty was to devise a scheme without the necessity of presenting each time a fresh Bill, which would have to go through all the stages required by the ordinary Parliamentary procedure, and which would be exposed to all the hazards of discussion and the dangers of unguarded words.

By the time the Bill reappeared before the House of Lords, the way was clear for the final shaping of this much-discussed clause. Lord Morley pithily defined our parliamentary system as "contention plus compromise," and the latter stage had been



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attained by the conciliatory attitude of Lord Percy and Mr. Balfour in the Commons, and the tact and moderation of the Secretary of State, when he took their suggestions into consideration and embodied them in his final proposals. He agreed with his critics that the Councils, to be effective, must have upon them Indians trained and educated to representative ideals; men of large minds with the interests of their province at heart; men of wide views who would sympathise with the good of India as a whole. He looked at the changes which thirty years of education had made in native thought, he recognised that the men who had been brought under its influence were no longer content to find no outlet for their energies, and he thought the time ripe to enlist them in the willing service of the State. If his critics doubted that these men existed in sufficient numbers to fill immediately administrative posts in Councils all over the peninsula, Lord Morley was willing to wait a little, to go more slowly, and to get his Councils one by one if necessary. What mattered was, that the Home Government should recognise this principle, as the Indian Government had already done, and that it should be embodied in legislation.

Lord Minto, in an address to his own Legislative Council, had said that he was in perfect accord with the Secretary of State in his proposal made in

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clause 3 ; an important member of the Executive Council had used the same language, and both sides in the debate over the clause had agreed that Bengal was ready for the change.

There was then no difference of principle, no contention that the Indian would never be able to serve his country side-by-side with those under whose tutelage it was. Time which ripens all things would mature the minds to undertake the task.

When Parliament had conceded this, it was fitting that it should leave the Government of India to judge the right moment for setting up new Councils. The Proclamation to effect this should then be laid upon the table of both Houses for a specified number of days, after which it would become operative if no address was moved against it.

Clause 3, then, in its final form was specifically limited to the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort-William, and a subsection was added allowing the Governor-General, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to create a Council under a Lieutenant-Governor by proclamation, which should take effect, if the Imperial Parliament made no opposition, within the forty days during which it lay upon the table.

## VII.—THE METHOD OF ELECTION

THE establishment of the Councils, both legislative and executive, having been thus explained, it is now necessary to see how the elective machinery for the former was finally constituted. Lord Morley's attitude towards it has already been dealt with; we may summarise it as a desire, in *theory*, to hold the balance equally between all the qualified electors, not to distinguish caste from caste, or creed from creed, but in *practice*—since this political principle would have broken down in the working, and might even have led to the oppression of the minority—he was willing to be guided by the weight of argument, which inclined to the denominational solution.

The spokesman for these second thoughts on Mahomedan representation in the House of Commons, was Mr. Buchanan. He said that it was essential that the scheme should represent the opinions of all the large and important sections of the community, and that notably the Mahomedans and landholders should have secured to them a clear and adequate representation. The former

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especially had an overwhelming claim by reason of the solemn pledges of those in authority. Lord Minto had given the promise specifically in October 1906; despatches of the Secretary of State had confirmed the same, and his public speeches had reiterated his purpose.

Lord Morley thought the end could be attained by electoral colleges, for which the members should be chosen by separate bodies of electors for Hindu and Musselman.

Another suggestion was that the Mahomedan members should be chosen in the ordinary way, and if a sufficient number were not elected, recourse should be had to nomination.

The arguments for a mixed electorate, drawn from the practice of countries where the parliamentary system is an accomplished fact of long standing, do not meet the circumstances of the India of to-day. Representative government, a government by debate, as Lord Percy clearly explained, suits a homogeneous population, practically equal in the essential meaning of the word—a community where the minority is prepared to accept the decisions of the majority, and where the general outlook and national aspirations are the same. But can this be postulated of India? May it not rather be described, in the words of Mr. Balfour, as a land “where the religious distinctions

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are very different to those with which we are familiar in this country. There they cut far deeper than here into the social fabric, and divide far more fundamentally man from man, family from family, and even village from village . . . one cannot really ignore the vital religious differences, remembering that they are the mark and symbol of other differences, not strictly or technically religious, but which even as much as religion itself separate and segregate the members of what externally appears to be a single community." With these considerations in their mind, and also with the evident fact before them, that the idea of mixed electorates was viewed with suspicion and distrust by those chiefly concerned—the Mahomedans—and found no friends in other quarters in India, the Secretary of State brought forward the proposals of the Government of India contained in a despatch of 1st October 1908, and arranged that the Mahomedan representation should be obtained in the way that best suited the Province concerned.

Sometimes there should be framed a system of specially-constructed Mahomedan electorates; in other cases representatives should be named by Mahomedan associations; in others again nomination, at least for a time, should be the method.

As the regulations for securing the Musselman

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vote were not specified in the text of the Bill, but were left to the discretion of the Governor-General, subsequent misunderstandings arose. Besides the special electorates, this body understood that it was to have a representation in excess of their numerical strength.

A telegram of the Viceroy, stating that in general electorates—such as municipalities, district boards, and provincial councils—all sects and classes, including Mahomedans, would vote together, roused their apprehension. They concluded that the special electorates, in which Mahomedans would vote separately, were only intended to supplement general elections, and would carry only a small number of seats. This was not Lord Morley's intention, as he explained to the Lords, when a question on the subject was asked in that House. What he contemplated was, that the Mahomedans should have, by means of separate electorates, a number of seats approaching that to which their numerical proportion in the population would entitle them, and that over and above they would obtain some seats in mixed electorates, such as district boards and municipalities, Universities, Presidency Corporations, and also as landholders. The ratio of representation would depend upon the status, character, and educational attainments of the Musselman in the different provinces.

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As to the question of nomination, that was intended merely as a temporary expedient in those communities who had not yet made that progress which would enable them to profit by the privileges now for the first time accorded to them.

It would not be possible to create separate Mahomedan registers wherever the elective principle prevailed or was introduced, such as in Presidency corporations, municipalities, and the other bodies of that standing; but a separate electorate for the Legislative Councils was the pledge given, and that would be strictly observed. When the scheme was fully worked out, it would be seen that the Government had given effect in the fairest manner to all the promises they had solemnly given.

There can be no doubt that on this point, as on others, Lord Morley was thoroughly anxious to meet Indian opinion, rather than to pursue impracticable ideals.

## VIII.—THE NON-OFFICIAL MAJORITY

ANOTHER concession made by the Indian Councils Bill was the withdrawal of the official majority in the Provincial Councils, though it was retained in the Viceregal Government. The official majority, as Lord Morley explained, is "a device by which the Governor-General, or the Governor of Bombay or Madras, may secure a majority in his Legislative Council by means of officials and nominees. And the officials, of course, for very good reasons, just like a Cabinet Minister or an Under-Secretary, whatever the man's private opinion may be, would still vote, for the best of reasons, and I am bound to think with perfect wisdom, with the Government."

And he proceeded to represent "how directly, how palpably, how injuriously, an arrangement of this kind tends to weaken, and I think I may say even to deaden, the sense both of trust and responsibility in the non-official members of these Councils. Anybody can see how the system tends to throw the non-official member into an attitude of peevish,



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sulky, permanent opposition, and, therefore, has an injurious effect on the minds and characters of members of these Legislative Councils." <sup>1</sup>

For the better working, therefore, of these enlarged Councils he proposed to adopt the recommendation of the Indian Government, and to rely on the public spirit of non-official members in carrying on the ordinary work of legislation. For the Imperial Council Lord Morley considered an official majority essential, though the Viceroy was ready to dispense with it if necessary.

There was a precedent to go upon. For years past Bombay had been working satisfactorily with a Legislative Council, and a non-official majority of fourteen to ten. Except in Madras and Burma, no Provincial Council had an actual official majority, though such could doubtless be created if necessity arose. Even in the reconstructed Legislative Councils, the power of veto rested in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor, while above and beyond all came the Viceregal authority. With the Council's extended powers, particularly as to the discussion of finance and the submission of resolutions on public matters, it was far wiser to give an equal position to all the members entrusted with the work, rather than to leave part of them under the shadow of an

<sup>1</sup> Speech in the House of Lords, Dec. 17, 1896

## THE NON-OFFICIAL MAJORITY

official majority, with the feeling that in compliance rather than in initiative lay the only opening for their energies.

Moreover, a beginning had been made in Bengal, and if the Indian in that Province had been able to convince the Government of his reliability and his power of entering into the spirit of his position, there was no reason why native members, as education progressed and the relations between ruler and ruled became less strained, should not give valuable support to their Governor. A non-official majority need not mean the domination of a party hostile to European methods, and might mean a majority eager to carry out schemes based on Western ideas and executed in a manner congenial to Eastern ways and in sympathy with Eastern feeling.

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## IX.—AN INDIAN ON THE VICEROY'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

THE next subject for discussion was the nomination of an Indian member on the Viceroy's Executive Council. This point we have seen was advocated from the beginning by Lord Morley, and he expressly stated, that he began to think seriously of this step at Lord Minto's special instigation. There was nothing revolutionary in the proposal, and neither was there any legal or statutory exclusion, so that at any vacancy on the Viceroy's Council, the Secretary of State already had power to appoint an Indian member. But Lord Morley did not base the change he was about to make merely upon the idea that the power had always existed, and might therefore be used, but upon the actual fact that the time was now come and the man was ready, so that exclusion would be not only a deviation from a principle, but also an injustice to an individual. His own noble words are the best commentary on his action:—

“Now suppose there were in Calcutta an Indian lawyer of large practice and great experience in his

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profession—a man of unstained professional and personal repute, in close touch with European society, and much respected, and the actual holder of important legal office. Am I to say to this man—‘In spite of all these excellent circumstances to your credit; in spite of your undisputed fitness; in spite of the emphatic declaration of 1833 that fitness is to be the criterion of eligibility; in spite of the noble promise in Queen Victoria’s Proclamation of 1858—a promise of which every Englishman ought to be for ever proud if he tries to adhere to it, and ashamed if he tries to betray or to mock it—in spite of all this, usage and prejudice are so strong, that I dare not appoint you, but must instead fish up a stranger to India from Lincoln’s Inn or the Temple?’ Is there one of your Lordships who would envy the Secretary of State, who had to hold language of that kind to a meritorious candidate, one of the King’s equal subjects?”

An important change of this nature was not likely to be passed over in silence in a body, the principle of whose statesmanship is, that discussion precedes decision. Lord Curzon, who as ex-Viceroy immediately followed the Secretary of State in the debate on the second reading of the Bill, criticised it from his own standpoint, that efficiency in administration was the ideal point to which all inno-

vations should be directed. He disclaimed all idea of disagreement from the Secretary's generous conception of the capacities of educated Indian gentlemen, which he desired to endorse from his own experience, but he considered that the question raised the whole issues of English government in India and the foundation upon which it rests. He reminded the House that the functions of government are concentrated in the Viceregal Council, and that it is the "Cabinet of India"; that its main feature is the common responsibility that prevails.

Because it is small, its members know everything and participate in every enactment; the Commander-in-Chief has a voice and a vote upon the question of education, just as the legal member of the Council may give a vote and have an opinion upon the frontier. On this account the men who fill the Council seats must not only have an expert knowledge of their own departments, but they must have a wide knowledge of men and affairs — that knowledge combined with judgment which we characterise by the one word "statesmanship." Having thus drawn the portrait of an ideal Councillor, Lord Curzon found himself bound to admit that an Indian gentleman may well be an expert and a statesman. It would be strange if it were not so. An Indian qualified by training and education to

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take his share in the government of his own country has generally completed his studies in England. The very fact that he goes through this arduous experience shows that he has mental qualities of a very high type. No one maintains that the Oriental brain is deficient in depth and acumen; moreover, it has been nourished in a civilisation different from, but not necessarily inferior to, the gradually evolving Western type, under a philosophy subtle and thoughtful, which has been in action for many thousands of years. Heredity alone, if there is any truth in the theories based upon observed facts, would tell us that the brain material is there, and only awaits cultivation in the required direction. This cultivation has eagerly been sought by picked Indian students under the fostering care of England for some two generations. Especially in legal studies have they shown their capacity, and the law gives a training which fits a man for almost any post. We see this in the English Parliament, where the more eminent statesmen have followed a course of study for the Bar, to their profit both as orators and legislators.

We find, then, that the Indian most likely to be chosen to fill posts of responsibility in the administration, has had this preliminary training. Moreover, he is, after all, a native of the land

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in whose government he is called to take a part. This second qualification ought to help towards that "wide knowledge of men and affairs" which Lord Curzon gave as a *sine qua non* for an Indian statesman.

There was one objection made to this appointment, which concerns India rather than the Government. If the Secretary of State recommended the King-Emperor to appoint on the Executive Council an Indian gentleman, on the ground that he was the best and most competent man, would the choice satisfy Indian opinion as a whole? Would it be possible for either Hindu or Mussulman to command the confidence of the opposite party? What answer to this will be made by the growing unity of Indian feeling, only time will show. Lord Curzon stated that all classes, from the highest chief to the lowest peasant, put faith in the absolute impartiality and neutrality of the Viceroy's Council, but that they do not so easily believe that the same detachment and strict sense of justice is to be found in the members of their own race.

In this indictment there are two points—one that an Indian does not trust the man of his own race, the other that as between Hindu and Mahomedan no confidence is possible. As to the former objection surely this is a point in

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which the more enlightened native must, by his example, bring round his fellow-countrymen to trust and look up to him. The very man most likely to be appointed would probably have learnt by residence in England that representative government is only possible if the member is trusted by his constituents; and being chosen by the Home Government expressly for the benefit of his own race, it would be then his task to promote their interests and to interpret their feelings, to unfold the intricacies of their character and desires, so that he should be, not an added source of discord, but a golden link between the children of the soil and the alien race who honestly desire their good.

The other difficulty—that which might arise from race jealousy—is no doubt a great one. That the cleavage is very deep we learn from the spokesman of either side, but that, again, is a matter which no home legislation can touch. Two peoples are not made one because they live under one rule. England knows this well; but if they are able to sink their racial differences for the common good, there is no reason why they should not command each other's respect and support in all measures directed to that end.

We have already seen remarkable unanimity exhibited by meetings, by addresses, by deputa-



tions to the Viceroy, when the reform proposals were still under discussion, and it would not be too much to hope that, when that Bill became law, which was framed to satisfy the aspirations of India as a whole, all classes would endeavour to make its provisions a success. Indian problems are not always the same; the "Unchanging East" has more than once shown that it can assimilate and aspire; a keen enthusiasm for a common end will draw very dissimilar characters together. Hindu and Moslem living under the same sky, confronted by the same conditions of life, must have many common needs to satisfy, many common grievances to redress, many common burdens to bear.

As it would be impossible to enlarge the Viceroy's Council so as to give separate representation to each of India's leading creeds and varied races, as not only Hindu and Mahomedan, but also Parsi and Pathan, might ask for a member of his own, only to find all excluded equally as the jarring elements could not be satisfied, obviously the best way to show England's sympathy with the growing national feelings of her great dependency was to take the course which was proposed by Lord Minto, and adopted by Lord Morley, of nominating one Indian member to the Viceregal Council, and, taking no account of creed, to select the most qualified

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man to this truly important post. Already before the eyes of the rulers a man stood forth with overwhelming claims to be the first chosen for his merit alone. The justification for the step taken must be plain to all, if criticism was to be disarmed. Lord Morley had signalised this man when he announced his intentions to the English Parliament, and the description was recognised by all those familiar with the Bengal judicial bench. No surprise or disappointment was felt when the Secretary of State followed up his declaration by appointing Mr. S. P. Sinha to the post of Law Member on the Supreme Executive Council, and the appointment was a good omen for the future as well as for the success of the experiment in the present.

When, underlying all the criticism, we see not so much objection to the aim of the whole Bill, as doubt of the efficacy of some of the provisions; when we see only one clause really rejected, and that reinstated after further discussion; when we see expressions of admiration as to Lord Morley's wonderful grasp of Indian affairs and his courage and energy in the exercise of his high office, we are not surprised that the measure should have already begun to produce the desired effect, and that within sight were "still waters of peace and contentment in India."

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## PART III

### DAY BY DAY IN INDIA

“Show the thing you contend for to be reason ; show it to be common sense ; show it to be the means of attaining some useful end ; then I am content to allow it what dignity you please.”—BURKE.

“It is steadily my opinion that there is an absolute necessity of keeping up the concord of this Empire by a unity of spirit through a diversity of operations.”—BURKE.



## I.—INDIAN VIEWS ON THE ACT

EXPERT English opinion both for and against the reforms having been exhaustively expressed during the debates in both Houses, it may be useful to inquire here how they were received in the country most concerned.

Lord Morley had already acknowledged that he had done his best to ascertain, whether the concessions he was prepared to make would be acceptable to those for whom they were intended. Amongst those whom he had consulted was Mr. Gokhale, and therefore it is interesting to see how this gentleman greeted the scheme in its final form, as his utterances on the subject would no doubt voice the opinion of his compatriots. The opportunity he took to make his views known was the Budget debate in the Viceroy's Legislative Council on March 20, 1909. The whole tone of his speech was one of unqualified approval of the generous way in which Indian sentiment had been treated. He referred to the feeling of unrest and impending disaster that had hung like a stifling cloud over the diversions of the preceding Calcutta season; of the

sudden shock of anarchist attempts, and the fear lest the spirit should spread and force the Government to repression instead of conciliation. But whilst the forces of lawlessness were yet small, and the less reckless ones hesitated to throw in their lot with rebels, their rulers held out a hand in which justice still kept the balance even, and the educated classes came back to their faith in the fairness and high purpose of the British rule. More cordial relations began to exist between the authorities and the people. Already when Mr. Gokhale spoke, the appointment of Mr. S. P. Sinha had been approved by the King-Emperor; "a red-letter day in the history of British rule in India" was his term for this auspicious event. He declared that new ties of attachment and gratitude would bind the two countries together, and that the administration would thereby be brought closer to the hearts of the people.

Mr. Gokhale, in speaking upon the Mahomedan question, gives a non-Moslem view of the situation, and we may see how it strikes an Indian whose opinion Lord Morley thought worth consideration. He considered that a substantial minimum of seats should be thrown open to election on a territorial basis and on the principle of mixed voting. This should be supplemented by other elections, confined to members of the minorities only. The details of this special representation should be settled

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according to the needs of each Province. Even a minority, so small as not to be entitled to a single member on a numerical calculation, should, under some circumstances, be given a special representative. This was practically the solution adopted by the Imperial Government in its Councils Bill. The clash of discussion had ended in its acceptance, after arguments of great weight had been brought forward on both sides of the question.

On the other hand, we see the "mixed electorate" idea advocated in India by, for example, Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy, member for the Central Provinces in the Supreme Council. Speaking as one who was not a Hindu or a Moslem, he said: "I do not understand how Hindu interests are opposed to Mahomedan interests in politics. . . . It is a mistake to suppose that the bulk of the Indian Mahomedans are separated from their Hindu congeners by any sharp cleavage of race and tradition. In their present backward state they cannot have better representatives than Hindus. Where there are deserving Mahomedans, they have as good a chance as Hindus." As an example of the last statement, he might have pointed to his colleague, Raja Ali Muhammad, an influential Mahomedan of Oudh, who owed his seat as representative of the United Provinces to a majority of Hindu electors on the local Legislative Council.



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Nevertheless, after giving due weight to the statement of those who saw a final settlement of the question in the establishment of "mixed colleges," we may safely say, that under the existing circumstances, Lord Morley's was the fairest solution. It is better to compromise than to extinguish the rights of minorities. When these rights are based on so fundamental a principle as attachment to a religious ideal, or on so innate a feeling as the sentiment of nationality, it is not justice to ignore the claims thus created, in favour of a theoretical uniformity. From parent to child the torch is handed on which kindles the fire of enthusiasm for ideals beyond the needs of mere material well-being. To quench the flame by force, or to refuse it a legitimate outlet, leaving it to smoulder and do incalculable mischief in hidden channels, until it burst into a conflagration of revolt, is neither just nor statesmanlike.

If a Government has the rule over two opposing forms of religion, which admit of no compromise because their fundamental principles are different, then it is for the State to extend an equal protection to both; any enactment which tends to oppress the minority becomes unjust. The question is no longer one of future unity, but of present equity, and only when the two parties concerned are able to accept the proposals that are made,

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should the State undertake the execution of the law.

In the case under consideration, it is admitted on all hands that the Moslems, from circumstances connected with their creed, had fallen behindhand in education, and had not advanced as fast as their Hindu neighbours. At the same time, they were now anxious to take advantage of the opportunities offered, and it would have been an act of oppression to ignore their goodwill, and to have so arranged the electorate that only the majority should ever be represented at all. Or if a Mahomedan were returned, it should only have been by the suffrages of the Hindu, who might conceivably choose a Musselman in bad odour with his co-religionists.

In time, as the Indian gets used to executive responsibility, a certain *esprit-de-corps* will no doubt spring up; the conception of a united India will grow in his mind. When famine mows down Hindu and Moslem alike; when an external foe threatens the boundaries of the empire; when a new danger arises, and some new power tries to make itself master of the country, and the very existence of the State is threatened, then we may see the Indians of every creed and nationality joining together, and, whilst retaining what is dearer to them than life, yet able to unite whole-heartedly in measures for the common good.

Already the Government plan shows that this is practicable; it provides for united action by all communities to a certain point, and then prevents injustice to minorities by giving them special supplementary electorates of their own.

Indian opinion, when anxious to meet the English Government plans, confesses, that not only is the feeling of soreness in the mind of the minority removed by this special treatment, but that the advance towards a real union is retarded rather than promoted.

Mr. Gokhale admits that there may be difficulties of detail. In some provinces there are important minorities other than the Moslem one, and it can hardly be contended that these must coalesce with the Hindu, so as to make two divisions, *i.e.* Mahomedan and non-Mahomedan. Or there may be the case where only one member is to be returned by a whole province, as in the case of landholders or the non-official members of some Provincial Council, and then the minority must be unrepresented. But he maintains that the matter must be looked at in a practical and large-minded spirit, and concludes, that the aim to be secured is not scientific accuracy of method, but substantial and satisfactory results.

Lord Morley, in answer to inquiries in the English Parliament, explained how the scheme was working in Bombay. Four seats were assigned

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specially to Mahomedans, and in addition two more were to be filled by Mahomedans elected by landholders and district bodies of Sind. They would thus have a minimum of 25 per cent., their ratio to the general population being only 20. In the United Provinces, where they number only 1·4 per cent., they would have four special seats, which was again in excess of the percentage population.

Thus the general feeling, that the Mahomedan interests must not be submerged in that of India as a whole, was carefully met by both Vicoroy and Secretary of State.

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## II.—THE DEPORTATIONS

IN the course of this examination of Lord Morley's Indian policy, one element in it has only been cursorily alluded to, and that is the question of the deportations. This act of necessary severity preceded the reforms. The conduct which rendered it advisable even menaced the measure itself, and was made an argument for delay by the opponents of concession to Indian aspirations. Lord Morley, whilst refusing to meet violence by injustice, also refused to allow to the violent, immunity from the consequences of their acts. We have been considering up till now the efforts of the Government, in Mr. Gokhale's words, "to associate the people of the country more largely with the administration of their affairs"; but he characterised another object which had also to be kept in view, and that was "to safeguard the essential elements of British supremacy." It was this latter object that made deportation necessary.

Let us take the facts of the case first. There is a regulation of 1818 which runs as follows: "Reasons of State occasionally render it neces-

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sary to place under personal restraint\* individuals against whom there may not be sufficient grounds to institute any judicial proceedings, and the Governor-General in Council is able for good and sufficient reasons to determine that A. B. shall be placed under personal restraint." This power can be exercised, as the regulation directs, without trial or without a fixed time of detention. It is obviously therefore a power to be used only in times of difficulty and disorder. It had been used already in 1907, when two agitators were deported, and were detained some six or eight months. When the circumstances which caused their detention seemed to improve, they were released. Fresh trouble, however, arose. The seditious newspapers, printed in the vernacular, which always have a considerable circulation among the poorer class of educated Indians, grew more aggressive. Their words stirred up their readers—the village schoolmaster, the young college student, the small Government clerk—to sullen discontent, which found vent more than once in deeds of violence. In both Bengals there were signs of serious hostility to the ruling powers. One informer was shot inside the gaol by a prisoner who had obtained a revolver; another was caught and murdered in the capital itself; a police inspector, who had traced one of the Mozufferpore assassins, was shot in

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the streets of Calcutta; and a most determined attempt was made upon the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The people were unwilling to come forward in the cause of law and order, either from fear of the power which had already shown itself able to strike down informers, or for sympathy with those involved in the crimes. All pointed to a very severe strain between the forces of the law and the discontented Bengali.

Not only was there danger that this disloyal and anarchic spirit might spread to other Provinces, but there was direct evidence that it would find a congenial soil unless a firm blow were struck in the interests of good government. For instance, in the Punjaub, too, there had been serious trouble at Rawal Pindi. The immediate cause was the increase in the land-tax, which was felt most in the neighbourhood of that city. The malcontents uttered seditious speeches, and incited their hearers to refuse payment of the tax. Five of the local agitators were brought before the magistrate to show cause why they should not comply with the legal demands, and a large and angry crowd of supporters followed the ringleaders. In the course of the disturbance a mission and a post-office were destroyed, and several houses wrecked. The trouble was quelled in this particular district, but apprehension was aroused in other parts by similar occurrences.

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As the months went on, the seditious language increased, and the suppressed discontent smouldered.

Had, then, an emergency arisen which justified the enforcement of this regulation? Lord Morley answers the question out of his own official knowledge of the situation. "The Government of India found in December a movement that was a grave menace to the very foundations of public peace and security. The list of crimes for twelve months was formidable, showing the determined and daring character of the supporters of this movement. The crimes were not all. Terrorism prevented evidence. The ordinary process of law was no longer adequate, and the fatal impression prevailed that the Government could be defied with impunity. The Government of India did not need to pass a new law. We found a law in the armoury, and we applied it. Very disagreeable! but still we should have been perfectly unworthy of holding the position we do—I am speaking now of the Government of India and myself—if we had not taken that weapon out of the armoury, and used it against these evildoers. It was vital that we should stamp out the impression that the Government of India could be defied with impunity, not in matters of opinion, mark you, but in matters affecting peace, order, life, and property." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Speech to Indian probationers.



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It may be argued that to deport a man without trial, and without inquiry otherwise than information contained in private "dossiers," is contrary to English ideals of justice, and that the powers of the Governor-General require further limitation. Some members of Parliament even advocate the repeal of the 1818 regulation. To this we must answer that the peculiar circumstances justify extraordinary methods. The Prime Minister declared (May 1909) that "deportation has been resorted to for the sole purpose of preserving the country from grave internal commotion," and he characterises it as a preventive measure. But granted the necessity for the continued detention of the deportees, it may be asked why, in the first place, they were not given a chance to prove their innocence in a court of law. The objection to this is the difficulty of finding willing witnesses; it is not unnatural that native sympathy should lie on the side of shielding a fellow-countryman, even if there is no active share taken in the agitation that is being carried on. Private evidence has probably been given by many of the well-disposed, but persecution would be their fate should their statements be made public. We see this, not only by crimes of some magnitude, but by small and frequent occurrences in the everyday life of the Bengali.

In considering the circumstances of these nine

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deported Indians, due weight was given to the fact that they were detained under a special regulation, and therefore an allowance of 200 rupees a month was made to the families of those who were breadwinners. Some of the prisoners were in a position which made this unnecessary, and one of them, Mr. Krishnar Kumar Mitra, refused to accept such assistance. It was on the case of this gentleman that the greatest amount of general feeling was aroused. As is the custom in the House of Commons, many questions were asked as to the precise grounds upon which these nine men had been arrested, and whether they were suspected of being instigators of the many outrages which had recently taken place. Only a general answer was returned, to the effect that amongst them, as the Government of India believed, were included some of the leading agitators.

Those members of Parliament who felt a natural repugnance to a regulation which could dispense with a public trial and statement of the grounds of offence, and who were oblivious, perchance, of the difficult circumstances which render such an act necessary, entered into a correspondence with the Prime Minister on the subject in May 1909. The signatures were those of Liberal, Labour, and Irish members.

Mr. Asquith, in his reply, stated that such

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an appeal 'was perfectly natural, since deportation without trial as a method of dealing with political agitation was not practised by the Home Government, and was, except under special circumstances, not justifiable. He, however, reminded his petitioners that it had only been resorted to for the "purpose of preserving the country from grave internal commotion," that it was "a preventive, not a punitive measure," and that the period of detention must be determined by those who were responsible for the arduous duty of maintaining order in India. He asserted firmly that, at a period when a great extension of popular representation had taken place, "none of the various forms of anarchical violence should be tolerated, and that no lawful instrument for suppressing them should be discarded."

The same firm attitude was maintained by the Government when they were questioned from time to time in Parliament. The Master of Elibank, in August, declared that, "A firm maintenance of order is the fundamental condition of all progress, whether political or social," and he wisely reminded those who objected to deportation as a preventive of crime, that, besides consideration for the subjects whom we rule, we must also care for the lives of those who help us in the task, and that we must do nothing to "undermine the authority of

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these officials, a more handful of highly-educated, sympathetic men, living hard and strenuous lives, . . . administering vast tracts of country and concerned in the government of millions of people." Under all the circumstances, those in authority, and who have, as a solemn duty, the task of safely executing the new statutory reforms, found it necessary to continue to enforce the deportations, and to confine within limits the forces of disorder, so that the counsels of moderate men might prevail to make the new departure a success.

Early in 1910, Lord Minto decided to release the deportees. His reasons were given in a speech made to the Legislative Council. "Our justification for the release of these men," he said, "is based upon the belief, that the political movement of which they were leaders has degenerated into an anarchical plot. We believe that we are no longer confronted by a political movement such as they inaugurated, but that we are face to face with an anarchical conspiracy, waging war against the British and Indian communities alike, and that it will be a long time before we can exterminate the evil unless those communities agree to work together hand in hand."

The Indian members of the Council were quite in agreement with the Viceroy, that stringent measures must be taken to enforce order, and maintain the good government of their country.

### III.—UNREST IN INDIA

CLOSELY connected with the question of deportation is that of unrest in India. It was brought home to English minds by the terrible murder of Sir W. Curzon Wyllie. This crime, committed at a reception by an Hindu student, horrified all right-minded people, whether English or Indian. It was at first attributed to political conspiracy, and the question was naturally raised, in view of such widespread disaffection as this act seemed to show, whether it was well to have 'made concessions even to legitimate Indian inspirations. At the trial of the assassin, it was finally decided that Madar Lal Dinghra had committed this dastardly deed without any direct instigation, though doubtless his mind had been poisoned by seditious prints, over which he had pored until he had imagined himself a martyr for patriotism. All those of his fellow-countrymen who were acting on lines of lawful agitation were horrified at this assassination. It deprived them of a sympathiser with their race and a friend to Indian students in England; it cast

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upon them, too, a stigma, and was a set-back to their cause in the minds of those who already mistrusted the wisdom of the Viceroy's conciliatory policy.

The unanimity with which the Hindu party of the reform repudiated the act of their co-religionist was prompt and unfeigned. A letter was addressed to the *Times* by the Maharaja of Kashmir expressing on the part of himself and the Hindu race his deep sorrow at the assassination. He noted, what was at once apparent to every one, that the deed jeopardised the cause of progress in his native land. But he had to admit that the anarchist propaganda has "fastened itself upon the morbid imaginations of a few ignorant and unfortunate individuals." It is, of course, just this "propaganda" that the deportation law of 1918 was framed to prevent. Ordinary crime can be dealt with by ordinary law, but anarchist principles, disseminated not only by newspapers that can be suppressed, but by every suggestive art that a seditious mind can invent, require firm measures to keep them within bounds. The crime of Madar Lal was not a consequence of concession made to the products of English education—the sons of Modern India—but it was the outcome of the extremist policy of revolt and no compromise.

The Maharaja of Kashmir plainly saw and acknow-

ledged that if the extremists had their way, and expelled their alien rulers, the country would be convulsed by internecine struggles, by which heterogeneous castes and creeds would be involved in one common ruin. He admitted that his country must look to the British for a "helping and a guiding hand," and must co-operate with them for its regeneration. For this purpose, he said, we may "by constitutional means, reasonably approach them for the redress of our grievances and lay before them our demands." Anarchism is, however, the worst method a patriot could contrive for the redress of injustice. "The Princes of India," he asserted, "have not any sympathy with the anarchists and their unprincipled and profane doings, and will, if need be, unstintedly place all their resources at the disposal of the Government in stamping them out of the country."

Utterances like these are a great encouragement to those statesmen who are determined to treat India in a fair and conciliatory manner. It shows that there are educated and large-minded men, who appreciate the spirit in which the Imperial Government is trying to carry out the task undertaken by England of adapting her rule to native needs. It shows, too, that men will be found, who, as they enter more and more into her councils, will co-operate with her, and accept British supremacy as

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the link which binds the creeds and the peoples of India as no native domination could hope to do.

As a proof that the most mature Indian opinion is all directed to this point of accepting British supremacy whilst asking for a larger share of self-government, we may quote from a speech made by Mr. Gokhale at Bombay on October 9, 1909. He was addressing the Students' Brotherhood, and he took the occasion to assure the young men that "there was no alternative to British rule." He asserted that it has been a means of progress to the country, and that their best interests, even their growing nationality, is bound up with it. For this reason he called upon them to be loyal to it, out of very love to their country, who demands this sacrifice from them, that they should submit to foreign rule.

These firm and straight words, addressed to students, point to one of the noteworthy features of this period of unrest, that the youth of India, at an age when they ought to be attending solely to their studies, are very widely disaffected, and are subject to frequent outbursts of political lawlessness and defiance of the Government. About two months before the speech just quoted, a mob of Bengali students rioted through the streets of Calcutta and attacked the trams, injuring the passengers and



throwing all the quarter into confusion. In a report, lately issued, the Director-General of Education in India mentions that both colleges and schools have been disturbed by political excitement. They have been incited to lawless acts, to demonstrations and agitation, both by propagandists from outside, and, what is worse, by their own masters. Both in Madras and Bombay, the extent of this evil caused the Governments of those Provinces to forbid any participation in politics to the masters and students to colleges under public management. The Government of India may see fit to make some such prohibition universal, but it is doubtful whether such a course would be practicable, for, as Mr. Gokhale points out, to the Indian student, an "interest in politics is an interest in his country."

England has introduced the ideas of freedom, of self-government, of patriotism, into the country, and the young, as they imbibe such teaching in their school hours, become inflamed with the desire to put them into practice, with the not unnatural result that they carry them to excess. Even Sir Andrew Fraser, who cannot be accused of weakness where the interests of England are concerned, and whose life was actually attempted by an "extremist," acknowledges that there was an unrest with which he could not help having some sym-

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pathy; and he included in this category the feeling of the educated class, who asked for a share in the government of their country. The unrest he blamed was that kind of seditious agitation which necessitated deportations.

One of the movements in which these school lads take an active share is that of the "Swadeshi" propaganda, which enjoins the boycott of English goods in favour of the native productions. The object is not economic, but is intended to show the displeasure of the Hindu at the partition of Bengal. Into the merits or demerits of this administrative change it is not necessary to enter here. It only affects one part of India, and Lord Morley does not propose to alter this act of his predecessors. The Bengali student, having from disaffected sources become imbued with hatred of British rule, entered with ardour into the "Swadeshi" movement, and soon joined in the illegal acts to which it led. We hear of attacks on native shopkeepers who were secretly getting in English cotton stuffs; of imported goods being seized and burnt; of the wearer of English clothes being set upon and maltreated. Furious bazaar quarrels, native shops ablaze, and other lawless acts have more than once called out the civil authorities to restore peace and order. Some of the troubles may be put down merely to the law-

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lessness of youth, but even they point to a serious condition of seditious propaganda. The unreasoning hate of all things foreign leads to revolt against that very British rule which the wiser Indian minds hold essential to the welfare of the land.

These disturbances, with the serious crimes of attempted assassination, of bomb-throwing, and of murder, cannot be tolerated by a civilised government. Those who fan the fire must be removed until peace is restored. As to the students, it is obvious that if their enthusiasm for liberty were rightly directed, they would do no more harm than our own English youths, in taking an interest in politics, and in looking forward to some share in the management of home affairs; but now their teachers lead them astray, or, if politics are forbidden, they pick up their political ideas from all kinds of forbidden sources.

Mr. Gokhale sees this evil as clearly as an Englishman, and deprecates a state of things which fills even schoolboys with unhealthy excitement and bitter partisan spirit. He thinks, however, that the change of tone must come first in those of older years. Patriotism is good, the love of liberty is good; but what gives them their goodness is the sense of responsibility upon which they rest. When this sense is developed in the

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Indian mind by the civic and political duties to which he is called, then the fervour at the base of the present unrest will be turned into sounder channels. There is much to be said for this light shed upon the disloyalty of the Indian student by one of their own race.

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#### IV.—EDUCATION

HAVING seen that some of the influence brought to bear upon the young Indian of school age is of a very pernicious kind, it is well to consider what was said upon the subject in the course of the Indian Budget debate in the House of Commons (August 5, 1909).

A motion was brought forward to the effect that "reforms are necessary in the character and scope of the system of education at present in force in India." Mr. Hart-Davies, who, as an inspector in the employ of the Education Department of India, has had first-hand experience of the system, stated that "the present educational system of India is in a very unsatisfactory condition."

One of these shortcomings—the disaffection of the schoolboy—we have already dealt with, and have found that some of it was due to the influence of the teacher. This is a point, then, that ought to be regulated. The annual remuneration of the schoolmaster is often as low as £10 per annum, a sum which does not attract a very satisfactory type of man.

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We have also made the mistake of establishing State schools with a secular education, and developing that type rather than encouraging the grant-in-aid school which we also support. If this second type of school were more universally established, we should have three substantial results.

First, a very great extension of education, because these schools could be started by the local committees or the Panchayat, which it is proposed to reconstitute. They would not require a very big grant, as the question of fees would be left optional, those parents paying who were in a position to do so. If such schools were opened by a mullah and approved of by the village authority, there is no doubt that this concession to local feeling would produce sufficient from these voluntary fees—which would be looked upon as the local share of the expenses—to get on with a very moderate grant-in-aid.

The second advantage would be the retention of religious instruction in accordance with the faith of the pupil. It is a recognised fact that a purely secular education given during those early years, when the mind and heart is being formed, ends in a decided loss to the character as a whole. We cannot force the Christian religion upon a people unwilling to accept it, but we should not deprive them of all religious influence during their school hours. It is

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an injury to the teacher as well as to the scholars, for he is debarred from using one of the most potent methods of directing the young towards higher ideals than mere material advantage or present success.

The third advantage would be the enlisting of the interest of the people at large in the education of their own children. Hitherto the facilities for acquiring instruction have been centred in a small number of high-class technical schools rather than in smaller schools giving a more general education. When, by a tendency towards bureaucratic rule, the village authorities lost a good deal of their power, they also lost their interest in education.

The ordinary non-official member of the local committee has only the power of spending 3s. per year on a square mile. There is little chance while such a state of things continues that an extended system of primary schools can come into existence. Larger powers and larger grants must go hand-in-hand to meet the desire for education which exists even in remote and isolated parts.

In these village schools the interests of the scholars will be directed chiefly to the requirements of their own district, and the education should be of a type to meet such interests. Agricultural schools, adapted to the locality in which they are placed, should be a great feature in this extended primary system; and other technical

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subjects should come into the curricula of different schools, according to the needs of the district.

The attention of the scholars being thus diverted to subjects which come within their own observation, their growing political sense could be exercised on questions of local government with some chance of their arriving at a correct understanding of the point at issue. The very circumstances in which they might one day have to take a part would be brought within their comprehension, and we should be spared the ridiculous spectacle of schoolboys demonstrating against an empire.

The Decentralisation Committee advocate sub-district boards to control education, so we may hope that some means of interesting the locality in the education of its own population will be one of the points considered when the regulations, based on Lord Morley's scheme, are framed for the guidance of the enlarged Legislative Councils, and that by degrees the reproach will be removed that somewhere between 1 and 5 per cent. of the population lies the number of the educated natives in India.

Already we see efforts in the direction of this more general establishment of schools being made in *Native States*. The Sikh State of Patiala is going to provide free primary education for its young.

The Gaekwar of Baroda is active in the same direction. In addressing the students at one of



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his State Colleges, he put forward ideals quite on the lines advocated above, and it is always well to ascertain the opinion of the Indian on what is the most suitable for his countrymen. A few of his utterances may be transcribed. Foremost amongst present needs he places improvement of the cultivators and labourers. Students from college, if they settled down as farmers, could start co-operative credit societies, introduce the improvements of civilisation, and help in the management of their own village concerns. The Gaekwar uses the following striking words: "If you can inspire the village population with the utility of common aims and endeavours, you will have gone a long way towards curing that social disintegration from which our country and our people have so grievously suffered."

Another sphere of activity for the educated student is to be found in social and charitable work. "Improve the cottage and you improve the empire." These are the ideals that an enlightened Indian ruler puts before his college students. He shows them outlets for their energies of a nobler character than riotous proceedings in support of impossible ideals, which if attained would only ruin the country. He wants the people to be taught to know what is good for them, and how to secure it.

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and this can only be done by the general education of the people, and by their share in administrative work. The ruler of Baroda, in agreement with Mr. Gokhale, lays stress upon the educative force of responsibility. As a man's outlook is broadened, he will naturally seek for some employment for his new powers. If he can find it in peaceful means, in co-operating with others in local government and in schemes of self-help and self-improvement, he is less likely to misuse his energies in conspiracy, in violent deeds and anarchic plots.

As far as the present-day education is concerned, it is generally admitted that it has been too exclusively literary. The success of pupils in University examinations appears to have been the point at which educationalists have aimed. This endeavour to put the degree within the reach of all has only resulted in crowding the colleges and lecture-rooms. No time or opportunity is thus given for the individual training of students. The curricula of the different colleges have agreed in this point of directing the attention of the pupils to subjects which, in the first place, lead exclusively to the B.A. examinations, and, secondly, to the law. A widening of the basis of education—so that those students who have not the aptitude for purely literary studies should be able to qualify for science

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or commerce—and a scheme leading to general culture, would greatly improve the ordinary class of student.

The need for some measure of educational reform was recognised, and is being met by the Government of India, under the rule of Lord Minto and Lord Morley. But at present it is chiefly in the direction of higher education. The strictly literary type, which has already been commented upon, is to be supplemented by grants for technical instruction, and it is high time that India should be brought into line with modern requirements in this respect. The impetus given to scientific and mechanical studies is to come from two sources.

The first is the establishment of scholarships for students to study in Europe. By this means the great science centres of the West will be visited by Indian students in greater numbers than in the past. The technical schools of South Kensington, in connection with the University of London, will absorb many of these scholars anxious to perfect themselves in European methods, and the other Universities of the Empire will also lie open to them. At the same time great efforts are being made to improve the position of these students by establishing a Bureau of Information and an Advisory Committee. These organisations are composed

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of well-known Indian and Anglo-Indian gentlemen, and besides being ready to answer inquiries as to educational facilities, they also take a very practical view of the situation by keeping a record of lodgings and boarding-houses suitable for Indian students. The educational adviser is in communication with local committees in the Provinces in India, so that he may be kept informed of the needs of students coming to England, and by his careful supervision of their circumstances in this country, he, as it were, takes a parent's place in helping those who consult him to spend their sojourn in a foreign land in greater comfort than if they were left to their own resources.

The other point in which these new studies are to be encouraged, is by the establishment of technical colleges in India. Closely connected with these is the sum set aside for agricultural development and research. Agriculture and forestry are two of the most important means in India for combating famine and drought. It is important that they should be developed as far as possible on modern and scientific lines, and the former subject ought to be taught from the village school upwards. However, the importance of teaching it in a systematic manner is recognised by this new grant, and as it becomes a subject not only interesting but re-

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munerative, more students will be attracted to it. Some of the rising talent will be directed away from the study of the law, which is so painfully overcrowded, and will begin to take an interest in the development of the land, and so the temptations to discontent and agitation, which so often arise from a disappointed ambition, will be lessened.

These technical colleges are also intended to train the students in the scientific processes connected with manufactures and industries. Many of the leaders of Indian opinion have advised that their educated fellow-countrymen should now turn their attention to trade, and to the means of production, as being in no way beneath their dignity. It is well known how important a rôle in the Western world is played by the great manufacturers; and their position, as controlling the markets of the world, has been brought about by the application of science to manufacture. The study of chemistry, of mechanics, of the applied arts, are all brought in our day to a very high pitch of perfection, and they have very far-reaching consequences. It has been pointed out that the discovery of a chemical dye, as a substitute for indigo, has almost annihilated the cultivation of this plant in India. Such are the indirect results of technical discoveries.

The Government having placed these studies

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within the reach of the capable student by means of scholarships and grants, it is to be hoped that in future years a harvest may be reaped of invention and of developed resources, and that an India may arise able to compete, both in men and methods, with the talent of the Western world.

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## V.—CONDITION OF COUNCILS BEFORE AND AFTER THE REFORMS

IN the four chief Provinces the Legislative Councils consisted of from sixteen to twenty-four members, of whom the officials were in a majority. The other members were elected by such bodies as the Corporations and Chambers of Commerce, by the Universities, by groups of District and Municipal Boards, and, in one case, by a group of Landholders' Associations.

The method of election was managed in the following way:—The District and Municipal Boards chose delegates, and by these delegates the election was conducted. The Lieutenant-Governor had the power, which, however, he rarely used, of vetoing the election of an unsuitable or objectionable candidate. Now, under the Reform Act, the numbers are raised to forty-seven in the four chief Provinces, and the official majority is dispensed with. The classes represented are the same as before, and the rights of the Mahomedans are safeguarded as already explained. There is no doubt that the Mahomedan associations will increase greatly in

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the next few years. Already a larger number of their "Anjumans," or associations, exist than is generally known, and if the facilities are given them of becoming representative bodies, they will form a convenient basis for selecting a member really in touch with his co-religionists, one who is congenial to them, and able to represent their interests with force and impartiality. With this incentive before them, it will not much longer be said that the Mahomedans are backward in taking the opportunities given them of self-improvement.

Previous to the new Act, the members of the Council could debate upon the Bills introduced by the Government and discuss the annual Budget. Beyond this they might not go, as it was not considered advisable that the authorities should be subject to the kind of inquiry into their acts, which is known under the denomination of "heckling." When an extension of these powers was under discussion in both Houses, the fear was expressed that an astute and legally-trained inquirer might make use of his opportunity to embarrass the Government by a series of questions, put with the intention of dragging out admissions from an unwilling official.

This abuse of the privilege of putting supplementary questions is sometimes seen in the home



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Parliament, and, though it is tolerated, rather than that the private member should be curtailed in his freedom, yet it often, besides hampering the Government, is the cause of premature revelations. On matters of foreign policy and the delicate relations with other States, it may prove more than a mischievous habit. Great wars have before now risen from very small effects, and an indiscreet question on the actions of foreign powers, or the preparations of the home Government to meet difficulties abroad, might help to start a quarrel with long and terrible results.

Nevertheless, in spite of the risks involved in the concession, the reform scheme includes this addition to the powers of the Council.

That a privilege is sometimes abused is not a sufficient reason for withholding it altogether. If a public body is to be trained in responsibility, the agents of the administration may often be questioned with profit, both for the clearing up of obscure points, and the bringing home to them that they are not mere instruments of despotism. The risk must be taken that sometimes a critic of their method may go too far from a desire to prevent a course of action of which he disapproves. No doubt this would do more harm in India than in England, where representative government is of ancient standing and

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shared in by an electorate of nearly the whole male population; but on the other hand, even if criticism led to a weakening of the Government in the eyes of the government, it does not follow that many of the unrepresented millions of India would hear even the faintest echo of the words uttered in the Council of their Lieutenant-Governor.

In looking at the future of these enlarged Councils, the fact had however to be faced, that an opportunity was given for disaffected members to harass the administration by framing resolutions in such a manner, that they would enlist the sympathy of men who normally supported the ruling powers, and so, by an adverse vote, weaken its authority. Many checks of this kind are damaging to the prestige of a Government, even when, from the nature of the case, it cannot be ejected from power.

Bearing this in mind, it was necessary to make some selection of topics allowed for discussion. "Isolated incidents of administration and personal questions" might bring about an undesirable state of feeling if allowed without some safeguard. This is to be provided by the President's veto, which can also be exercised in the matters generally allowed for debate. The extended powers are only to be used to move resolutions in matters of public and general importance. These resolu-

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tions are to take the form of recommendations to the Governor, on which he can act or not according to his discretion. No resolution hurtful to public interests will be allowed by the President. Moreover, the time to be devoted to discussion and to the procedure to be followed, is fixed by the rules of private business.

The early days of this new privilege of free discussion will no doubt show how the Council members mean to use their power. They have been granted a substantial advance on their former position, and it is only by willing co-operation that they can make the new rules workable. It is sometimes feared that the landowner in the non-official majority will in the future oppose any Tenancy Bill for the protection of the rights of tenants, and that the faith of the ryots in the power of the Government to protect them against oppression may be destroyed. Or, on the other hand, if the heads of the Government, under such circumstances, veto a recommendation of their Council with any frequency, the whole structure may collapse.

These considerations have weight, but they are arguments which ought more especially to be taken to heart by the men, to whom has been conceded the responsibility of helping to legislate for their country. The idea running through all the reform

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which have been introduced was the necessity of governing India in conformity with India's needs.

Officials who return to England, one after the other, represent that the peasant population look upon the alien race that governs them, as the protector of their interests. It is said, that they would rather be under British rule than the subjects of a native State, that they feel more sure of getting justice from a Sahib than from a native magistrate, and that they put their trust, mixed maybe with fear, in the force that they can see, because while it controls, it also protects. Lord Morley's words, addressed last June to the Indian Civil Service probationers, show the position of the men in that employ, and the way English opinion expects them to fulfil their duties. He reminded them that the civil government of 230,000,000 persons of British India lay in their hands, and that they were very rapidly advanced to positions of responsibility:—

“One of you in a few years may be placed in command of a district, and have 1,000,000 human beings committed to his charge. He may have to deal with a famine; he may have to deal with a riot; he may take a decision on which the lives of thousands of people may depend. Well, I think that early call to responsibility, to a display of

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energy, to the exercise of individual decision and judgment, is what makes the Indian Civil Service a grand career. And that is what has produced an extraordinary proportion of remarkable men in that service.

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These are serious words, spoken at the outset of a young man's career, when he is most open to receive impressions, which will colour his whole after-life. It could not for a moment be maintained that they were spoken insincerely, or that speaker and listeners both knew that British rule means nothing of the kind. The days when Englishmen made fortunes in collusion with native Rajas out of the helpless tiller of the soil, are long gone. Even then the ruling race, as a whole, found the acts of the old East India Company's servants intolerable.

We have only to read Edmund Burke's speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts to see that the need for justice was a stronger instinct in most men's minds than the desire for gain. The road was a long one from that day till the one on which Lord Morley moved the second reading of the latest Councils Bill, but progress has always been in the direction of greater understanding of our duties towards our Eastern Empire, and greater efforts to help those under our care. The Government fosters equally the Raja whose state it assures, and the Ryot whose field it defends.

Yet there must always be a division between two races as far apart as East is from West; awe on the one side, patronage on the other, often mark the gulf across which they strive to join hands. A

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native in the ruler's council ought  
this gulf. If, on the contrary, the  
majority uses its power not to protect  
its feebler brethren, then the justification  
of its dominion will be plain.

## VI.—THE COUNCILS IN ACTION

By the end of November 1909, the Government of India had prepared the regulations, which, under the new Act, were to be issued for the constitution of the Indian Councils. The Governor-General had the option of bringing portions of the Act into force at different times, but he decided that it shall "come into operation for all purposes and all Councils in British India."

The number of members is now fixed for the Legislative Councils of the Viceroy, and of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, East Bengal and Assam, the Punjab and Burma. The numbers are slightly in excess of those proposed by the Government of India in their revised scheme of October 1, 1908.

It is provided by the regulations that there *must* be a majority of non-official members on every Provincial Council—a requirement not laid down in the Act—and this majority cannot be reduced, except occasionally, when the Governor has power to appoint *two* experts, should the legislation be of a character to need professional advice. Of the



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non-official majority, a fixed proportion consists of members nominated to represent special interests, or minorities, or as experts.

In the Viceregal Council the non-officials, numbering thirty-two, will consist of twenty-five elected members and seven nominated ones; of these latter, three must represent respectively the landlords and Mahomedans of the Punjab, and the Mahomedans of the Indian commerce.

In the Provincial Councils, the elective bodies will be, as a rule, municipal and district boards; the universities and chambers of commerce; landholders, planters, and Mahomedans; trade and industrial associations, and the Indian commercial community. Eastern Bengal, Burma and the Punjab, have some differences in the electorate, but the above gives a general idea of the interests represented in the Councils. The two principal qualifications for voters are the payment of land revenue and income-tax, though the franchise varies greatly in the different provinces. As the resolution says: "The Viceroy in Council would have preferred some nearer approach to uniformity; but the principle he has borne in mind is, that election by the wish of the people is the ultimate object to be secured, and he has felt that he must be guided by the advice of the local authority as to what those wishes are."

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An important point is the qualification of the candidate ; the original provision, making service on the district and municipal boards a *sine qua non*, has been removed, but there are certain restrictions made, of which two are particularly important. The first is, that he must be of good character and reputation ; he is disqualified if, in the opinion of the Government, his election would be contrary to the public interest. The second is even more weighty ; a candidate is not eligible for the Viceroy's Council, if he has been dismissed from the Government service, sentenced to imprisonment or to find security for good behaviour by a criminal court, or debarred from legal practice.

The method of election will, broadly speaking, be either by direct voting, or by delegation. Some provisions are made for "corrupt practices," such as personation, threats, or bribery ; and the Government may, on serious grounds, set aside the election. As a rule, the procedure will follow the English custom as fixed by the Ballot Act.

Rules of debate have been framed ; one excellent rule restricts speeches in the Budget debate to fifteen minutes, and the Viceroy can close the discussion of a resolution at his own discretion. In all Councils there is conceded the right of supplementary questioning, an important point which was carefully examined in the Imperial Par-

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liament before it was adopted, but these questions are limited to the subject under discussion, and due notice must be given by the member who puts them.

The preliminaries being thus arranged, it was decided to assemble the Councils early in January 1910, so as not to lose the legislative season by waiting for a revision of the registers. The elections took place in December, and all went smoothly.

The Government in the Bombay Presidency disqualified Mr. Kelkar, editor of the *Mahratta*, and it is stated that in consequence of the act, the Deccan favoured the return of the more extreme men. In the mixed electorates, the Mahomedans were defeated by large majorities. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was the Parsee elected member for Bombay Presidency proper.

In Bengal we notice the name of Mr. K. B. Dutt, son-in-law of the late Mr. Romesh Dutt; and for representatives of the landlords of Western Bengal, the Maharajas of Burdwan and Cossimbazar were chosen.

In the Punjab, the voting appears to have been chiefly on racial lines, and the Mahomedans secured a majority. It is significant to find that a Hindu was elected by a considerable majority for the Punjab University, which shows that even in a Province where the Mahomedans predominate, the

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seats of education are occupied by the Hindu in far larger numbers than by his Moslem confrère. It is reported from Eastern Bengal that Hindus deliberately abstained from voting. This abstention is said to have been caused by a manifesto issued and signed by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea.

When the elections were completed, the Councils met. One of the largest and most representative, the Legislative Council of Bombay, assembled on January 4th, and was addressed by the Governor, Sir George Sydenham Clarke, who, referring to the murder of Mr. Jackson, exhorted the members to co-operate with the Government, and give it their support in any measures which may be necessary to protect the young from evil influences leading directly and indirectly to murder. He also plainly declared that, though the Government of Bombay had no desire to force through the Council any measure, to which a large majority of the non-official members are opposed, yet that it retained the ultimate executive power, and, if at any time, acting upon knowledge which the general public did not possess, it were forced into measures disapproved by the majority, it would not hesitate to accept the responsibility. Mr. Gokhale was then elected as one of the representatives to the Imperial Council.

It is natural that defects should be found in the

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regulations • when they first came to be put into force, and Sir Edward Norman Baker, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, mentioned some of the points which were open to criticism.

One was the rule as to service on municipal and district boards, which, intended as it was to bring in local members, had the unlooked-for effect of excluding able men. This disability, which was recognised on working the regulation, was soon altered, and the regulation repealed.

A certain amount of disapproval was also expressed by some of the Bengali leaders, who still hanker after the modification of the partition. They spoke of the regulations as retrograde, and as constituting an "ordinance of exclusion." One of their objections was to the separate electorate, which has been already discussed, and which was accepted by men of very varied principles, as the best solution for a present difficulty. Another of their complaints, that the regulations have reduced the educated community to an insignificant minority in a scheme of reform largely due to their efforts, can hardly be taken seriously; and no doubt, as time passes and the full advantage of the new Councils is felt, the feeling of discontent will gradually die out. If, on the other hand, discontent is fomented and a boycott of the new Councils is advocated, the detention of the deported leaders is once more justified.

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Mr. Gokhale is another critic of the new regulations, but he is not irreconcilable. He mentions that the "distribution of representation and the electoral machinery is defective." This is no more than one might expect with an entirely new departure, and there is time for revision before the elections come round again. He adds: "Just now it is the duty of all to make the best of what they have got." This is the spirit in which the concessions so generously made should be received.

A certain amount of dissatisfaction seems also to have been caused by the disqualification, under clause 1 of regulation 4, of Mr. Kelkar. The clause gives power to reject as a candidate any person of such reputation or antecedents that his election would be contrary to public interest. Mr. Kelkar had been a member of the Poona City Municipality, but had evidently shown signs of hostility to the British rule. The Governor considered these incompatible with his presence in the Council, where the new conditions required men of goodwill to give the experiment a fair chance.

## VII.—TROUBLE WITH THE “EXTREMISTS”

UNFORTUNATELY the state of unrest shows no signs of quieting down. The repressive measures first directed against certain of the more disloyal papers, and against the criminals who give effect to their incendiary promptings, have now been extended to the whole of India. No province is exempted, as Lord Morley and Lord Minto have evidence that the disaffection is very widespread.

In the Punjab several persons have been arrested, charged with the publication of seditious literature; and a warrant is out for the arrest of Ajit Singh, an ex-deportee. He is now accused, amongst other misdeeds, of helping to circulate a book which gives directions for the destruction of buildings, and for assassination of unpopular officials.

It is perhaps in connection with the Alipore outrage that the trouble has been most persistent. One tragedy after the other has marked the progress of the case. The trial has lasted nearly two years, and has cost the Government something like £5000 a

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month. Immediately after the murder of Mrs. Kennedy and her daughter (May 1908), about forty men were arrested, and a search revealed a very widespread conspiracy of a dangerous nature. So determined were these prisoners that one of them shot an informer when they were both in Alipore gaol together, and was hanged for it. Evidently the Public Prosecutor, Mr. Ashutosh Birwas, who conducted the trial, was a marked man, for in the following year (February 1909) he was shot dead by a young Bengali anarchist. It was not till a year had elapsed since the original crime that sentence was passed on the accused ; but an appeal was allowed, and so the decision seems as far off as ever. It was during one of the many rehearings of the case that a third murder was committed. A Bengali youth, who lived in a students' "mess" at Calcutta, inflamed by the anarchist principles of his associates, shot dead, in the High Court, Sham-sul Alum, the police inspector who conducted the investigations of the Alipore case. The inspector was in Mr. Justice Harington's court, where the appeal of the five men concerned in the Alipore case, about which the judges disagreed, was being heard.

The assassin was caught, but the crime may have far-reaching results. In the first place, there is always a danger in a case of this kind, when



passions are aroused, that the Mahomedans may seek to avenge themselves on the Hindus. Then there is the evidence that the assassin has many sympathisers. It is reported that the anarchists are very active, that a secret society of terrorists with 12,000 members is in existence, and that this was the third attempt on Shamsul Alum's life. The courts, in consequence, are closely guarded, and admission is only granted to journalists and those who have business in connection with them.

There is a sensation of general insecurity and suspicion, which is fully justified by the desperate character of the men, who undertake the execution of the decrees issued by their anarchist leaders. The most serious effect is the feeling it excites in the breast of all Englishmen, both of those who doubted the wisdom of the reforms, and those who were so hopeful of brighter days. The task of suppressing sedition will not be shirked by those in authority. At the first meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council after the murder, the Viceroy made a serious and impressive speech, stating his attitude upon the situation. Addressing the chamber he said:—

“It is important that my colleagues and the public should know the early history of the reforms now sanctioned by Parliament. They had their genesis in a Note entirely based on views I myself

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formed of the position of India. It was due to no suggestion from home. Whether for good or ill, I am entirely responsible for it.

"I commit no breach of confidence in saying that the Government of India distinctly maintained, that a representative Government in the Western sense was totally inapplicable to the Indian Empire, and uncongenial to the traditions of an Eastern population. The safety and welfare of the country depend on the supremacy of the British Administration, and that supremacy cannot be delegated to any kind of representative assembly. We have aimed at reform and the enlargement of our Councils, and not at the creation of Parliaments.

"It is, unfortunately, too true that the progress of the work upon which we have been engaged, and in the completion of which we hoped to confer a welcome boon upon the people of India, has been marred by a succession of abominable crimes which forced my Government into one repressive measure after another.

"And yesterday, on the eve of the assembly of the Council, a faithful and gallant public servant was brutally murdered within the precincts of the High Court and in the broad light of day. A spirit hitherto unknown in India has come into existence, a spirit opposed to all the teachings of Indian religion and traditions, a spirit of anarchy

and lawlessness which seeks to subvert, not only British rule, but the Governments of Indian chiefs, to whom I am so deeply indebted for their loyal assistance.

“ We are called upon to deal with subterranean machinations, methods of assassination and robbery dangerous to public safety and discreditable to the fair fame of India.

“ We are aware of associations which are doing their best to inveigle into their meshes the youth of the country, poisoned by the dissemination of revolutionary literature, which, out of a chivalrous unwillingness to interfere with any form of freedom of speech, the British Administrations have tolerated far too long.

“ The present dangers we are prepared to meet; our duty will no longer allow us to neglect the moral training of the rising generation.

“ I had hoped to open this new Council under an unclouded political sky. No one has longed more earnestly than I to allow bygones to be bygones, and to commence the new administrative era with a clean slate. The course of recent events has cancelled the realisation of those hopes, and I can but assert that the first duty of every Government is to maintain the observance of the law, to provide for the present and, as far as it can, for the future welfare of the populations committed to

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its charge, and, if need be, to rule with a strong hand.

"But I do not for an instant admit that the necessity of ruthlessly eradicating great evil from our midst should throw more than a passing shadow over the general political situation in India. I believe that the situation is better than it was five years ago. We must not allow the immediate dangers to blind us to the evidences of future promise.

"I believe that the broadening of political representation has saved India from far greater troubles than those which we have now to face.

"I believe, above all, that fellow-service of British and Indian administrators under a supreme British Government is the key to the future political happiness of this country. It is in that belief that I have worked hard for India, and when I see around me to-day representatives of powerful communities and interests for whom I pleaded in my Note, I feel convinced that the dignity and good sense of this Council will be worthily maintained, and that the navigations of the Indian ship of State will be loyally and ably assisted."

These words of the Viceroy accurately present the situation as it stands in India to-day. Yet, whilst deprecating the lawless acts which thus necessitate a period of repression, Englishmen

must not lose heart and think that their rule, however much it is directed to the improvement of the people, still only meets with ingratitude and dislike. The present outburst of disaffection is the harvest of a crop sown long ago. The agitators have been working for years, and, as they are irreconcilable, the reforms have for them no interest. Their one idea is to shake off an alien rule, and they are blind to the consequences—the ruin, anarchy, and foreign conquest—which would follow their success.

The real Indian opinion, that which has worked for the reforms and welcomes them in heartfelt utterances, cannot sympathise with crimes which make all their efforts vain. It lies with them to co-operate with Lord Minto in his distasteful task of coercion, for it is only by the suppression of lawlessness that the new arrangements will have a fair chance.

If all goes well, further efforts can be made to carry out the recommendations of the Decentralisation Committee, and to take the advice of those Indians who really know what is best for their country. All who care for her welfare will echo the wish of Lord Minto, that when the tenure of his high office is at an end he may see the good fruit of his years of work, and that anarchy will have given place to a contented India.

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Measures are now being taken to quell the forces of anarchy, and to set an example of firmness for those loyal Indians who have been elected to the Councils of their country. For them, too, the outlook is dark. Their hopes are dashed if a long era of repression is to begin just as a brighter day has dawned. But it is to be hoped that the trouble may, after all, be confined to the districts where it is most acute, and that there also it may soon be suppressed.

As the Viceroy and the Secretary of State have worked together for reform, so, too, there is no doubt but that they will take concerted steps to enforce order and to use the powers given to them for this purpose.

It is easy for any student of Lord Morley's utterances to see that he would be of full accord with Lord Minto in the suppression of revolt and conspiracy.

As early as 1907, we find him severe upon irresponsible politicians who foment the spirit of strife in India. He asked if they intend to help Lord Minto and himself, when they inflame the minds of those who listen to revolutionary teachers by telling them that the projects for reform are a sham.

In the following year, in his speech to the Indian Civil Service, he emphasised the fact that the first duty of a Government is *to keep order*. He reminded his hearers that there is a living movement in the

minds of the educated Indian, a movement for "objects which we ourselves have taught them to think desirable objects," but in meeting those it is not necessary to be impotent in the face of sheer anarchy and defiance. Lord Morley deprecates an era of "pure repression," but nowhere in his speeches do we find an advocacy of weak concession. On the contrary, he is confident that the empire will hold its own, and that British statesmanship, which has never yet broken down in any part of the world, will not have to record a breakdown in India.

What was true eighteen months ago still holds good. The Secretary for India recognised that "an incendiary article is part and parcel of a murderous act," and he was ready to suspend the liberty of the press when it lent itself to abuse. He expressed himself no friend to public discussion of a seditious character, and which spread mischief far and wide under the guise of freedom of speech. The words he used then are, however, even more worthy of quotation to-day, when the really alarming spread of political crime may cause the friends of India to lose heart, and those who distrust her to find justification for their fears. Lord Morley still hoped in the good sense and right feeling of the less aggressive and more reliable natives of this great country. Having in mind the silent adherents of British rule,





that they will hold it. We have already seen Lord Minto rising to meet the crisis, and we know, when we look at these utterances, that Lord Morley will not be behind him. Then when the trouble is over, and the wild, weak, and deluded victims of an anarchist propaganda have been deprived of the leaders who goad them on, we may hope to see the full effect of these reforms in the minds of those Indians who, trusting in the promise of their ruler, have striven to fit themselves for the responsibilities of government and the guidance of their fellow-countrymen.

## VIII.—THE AIM OF THE REFORMS

LORD MORLEY'S ultimate aim is to let the representatives of the people have a real hand in settling the provincial budgets, and to have a real control over provincial administration. He would like to see a complete chain of representation, starting at the village Panchayat, passing onward through the District Government bodies, and joining, by means of the Provincial Councils, on to the Supreme Government at Calcutta.

In his despatch, of October 1908, he says : "The village in India (generally) has been the fundamental and indestructible unit of the social system, surviving the downfall of dynasty after dynasty. I desire your Excellency in Council to consider the best way of carrying out a policy that would make the village a starting point of public life."

Beginning at the bottom of the scale, we may ask, how far are the people of India fitted for self-government at all ? We find the Indian ryots, when they were managing their own affairs, before the

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British Commission came on the scene, were governed by a Panchayat, or council of five, including a village record keeper and an accountant, under a head man. The posts were hereditary, and any unfit member was set aside in favour of some more capable relative. Though the old system has been almost destroyed, still the capabilities of the people for the orderly rule of their own village affairs has been demonstrated, and could easily be revived under modifications rendered necessary by modern conditions. Already a step in this direction has been made by forming local bodies to manage local affairs.

No doubt they are still at the stage when many mistakes are made. Sometimes prejudice prevents them from co-operating with the schemes of the district officer immediately about them, so that measures for local development fail for want of understanding, and no material progress is made; sometimes sloth makes the native members of the local board leave all to the district officer whom they have appointed chairman, and then they fail to advance in self-dependence and intelligence.

Again, the elective principle is foreign to their habits, and their best men look upon it with distrust. The posts in the old village Panchayat were practically hereditary, and the canvassing for votes is thought undignified by those who have

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been trained in such a school. Nevertheless, as by degrees the lower bodies and the class associations send representatives to the Legislative Councils, and they in turn have their place among the Viceregal advisers, the elective method, by which they are chosen, will gain a dignity of its own, especially as it develops on independent lines, and not in slavish imitations of Western models.

This attempt at cultivating the sense of government in the Indian people, which could hardly have been delayed as the pressure of the educated minority grew stronger, may have one out of several effects.

There is first the aspirations which come from watching the struggles of other nationalities. Indian students in England cannot have failed to hear of the Irish Home Rule movement, and the acceptance of the idea by one of the great parties in the English Parliament. The Egyptian efforts to increase their opportunities of self-government come yet nearer home to them, as does the present success of the "Young Turk" upheaval. They see the same stirrings of life in China, and the success of Japan in modernising all her institutions, and even in defeating a European Power.

Considering all this, one school of Indian political thought is anxious to destroy the bond between themselves and the ruling power at the earliest possible moment. If they can do it by no

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other way; they try violent and anarchic methods. They fix all their hope and aspirations on the day when the last British soldier shall have set his foot upon the returning troopship, and when the Indian shall be supreme. This is the spirit in which they accept constitutional reform; it is to be a means of education in self-government merely that they may shake off an alien yoke. This is the spirit which drives many a cautious Englishman to say that no concessions at all should be made. Neither Lord Morley nor any other statesman would look at the claims or yield to the threats of the "extremists"; every Englishman who has ever borne rule over India is at one on this point.

But there is another and more moderate point of view: that of the men who think that India may ultimately come into line with the great self-governing colonies of the Empire. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea asks for a constitution like that of Canada, with, first, the right of financial control over money raised by the Indian ratepayer; second, autonomous provincial governments. In this sense they, too, no doubt wish to see the end of the personal government of Britain, and allowing, perhaps, for a Governor-General as a symbol of a bond—by which they get the advantages and the Home Government the responsibility—would

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like to see every administrative post in Indian hands. This was the dream of John Bright, who wished to see India evolve into an independent State, as a federated portion of a great Empire. But this is not the goal of Lord Morley's reforms, for several facts are ignored in this attractive picture. One is internal; India is not yet anywhere near being a homogeneous State. That was very plainly brought out during the debate on Moslem representation, and equally strongly by the disappointment shown in leading Hindu journals at the arrangement made, which they evidently consider a piece of favouritism.

The other point is external; the self-governing colonies are, geographically, more happily situated than our Indian Empire. The Australasian dominions are defended from attack by miles of ocean; Canada and South Africa are capable of holding their own against any foe from afar. India, on the contrary, has a relentless enemy ever at its gates. Should Great Britain remove her support, Russia would pour her hordes over the wide plains of Hindustan. This horror of a Russian invasion is no mere phantom, got up by Britain to awe India into submission. The Frontier Provinces have had proofs of its reality; the fertile Punjab has before now been blighted with the shadow of the fear, when the Afghan



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cised), in his work *England in India*, analyses both the strength and the weakness of British administration. Writing more than ten years ago, he already pointed out, that it would be wise to entrust the rural population with powers to deal with purely village concerns. The village unions, which he mentions as being in process of construction, are those revivals of the Panchayat system, of which Lord Morley speaks with approval.

Mr. Dutt, before his death, already saw and approved, that citizens in large towns are being allowed to manage their own concerns under some control, and that members are elected to the Legislative Council. He considers the "one-man rule," as set up by Warren Hastings, is unsuited to the present condition of India, and that it has a tendency to make British administration unpopular. This complaint will be fairly met by the new Act.

His third contention is also covered by the extension of the representative principle. He remarks, in no spirit of hostility to British supremacy, that the pledges given over sixty years ago ought at last to be redeemed, and that the time has come for the people of India to have a share in the administration of their own affairs, especially as these pledges have been often repeated. He quotes the Proclamation of 1858, and the declaration at the Delhi Durbar of 1877. It is not surprising that Mr.



Dutt, though far from disloyal to the Government which he served, expected some movement towards meeting the hopes thus raised. Finally, we see exactly what well-disposed and moderate men would be satisfied with, and the demand is not unreasonable. As spokesman of one section of Indian opinion, he suggests an extension in the principle of representation—though not representation in the sense in which England has it. He refers to the elective principle as started in a limited way in district and municipal committees by Lord Ripon.

This elective principle has now been extended by the new Act, and we see how judiciously Lord Morley has treated Indian opinion, which by its moderation, deserved to be conciliated, and that in his proposals he does not contemplate the impossible ideals of extreme men. In his despatch he goes back to words published in a Resolution of May 18, 1882, to the effect that the Government of the day were putting forward proposals for local self-government, "not primarily with a view to improvement in administration . . . but chiefly as an instrument of political and popular education," and he adds to this that if these local bodies have not had a marked success as a training-ground, it is because they have departed from the principle that the "control should be exercised from without rather than from within," meaning that the "Govern-

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ment should revise and check the acts of local bodies but not dictate them." He adds that the local bodies should not be interfered with in matters of detail, and that the respective powers of the Imperial and the local government should be clearly defined by statute. If we compare this with a statement, made further on in the same despatch, we find that Lord Morley does not contemplate that there should be a "large departure from the present system of administration," which reposes "upon the presence at the head of the highest administrative posts, of officers trained and experienced in the complex requirements and diversified duties of the Indian Government."

He takes it for granted, therefore, that the head of the Province will be, as now, a member of the Indian Civil Service.

This detailed expression of the Secretary of State's present views, leaves no loophole for thinking that his ideal for India is an autonomous Government, united to the Home Government by the feeble tie, not of *loyalty*, like that which, founded on a common parentage, joins the Colonies to the Mother-country, but of *self-interest*,—on the Indian side the fear of foreign invasion, leading her to grant the control of defence, and the means of communication, to the alien master; on the English side, jealousy of another country's usurpation, causing her to accept

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this grudging allegiance. No union could long exist on such terms; the full consequence would not be long in coming. India's warmest sympathisers among Englishmen see the danger, as well as the most bureaucratic Anglo-Indian. England would soon lose the fairest jewel from her Imperial diadem, and the King-Emperor would be shorn of half his title.

And how of the so-called captive when she had shaken off her chains? Every antagonistic race-instinct within her would awake, every religious antipathy would take fire. The making of a nation under the tutelage of a Government, which strives to hold the balance even, would be marred. Whether a foreign foe stepped in and culled the fruit of fifty years or whether internecine warfare arrested government and trampled the works of civilisation down into the arid Indian soil the effect would be the same. The educated Indian would impotently struggle with the old immortal forces, or he would go forth into exile.

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step by step. In rejecting their masters, they cast from them the tongue that teaches and the hand that guides. A conviction of this truth, and a desire to follow the road upon which they have entered, may well take the place of a hope, that can have no realisation in the form they wish. If loyalty to an alien ruler is an impossible passion, it may well be replaced by the nobler feeling, which desires the welfare of the whole Indian race. For this ideal, they can work in loyal co-operation with that great kingdom of the West, which is ready to pour out its blood and treasure and the wisdom of garnered years, in order to bear with courage and justice the burden of Imperial rule.

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THE END

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